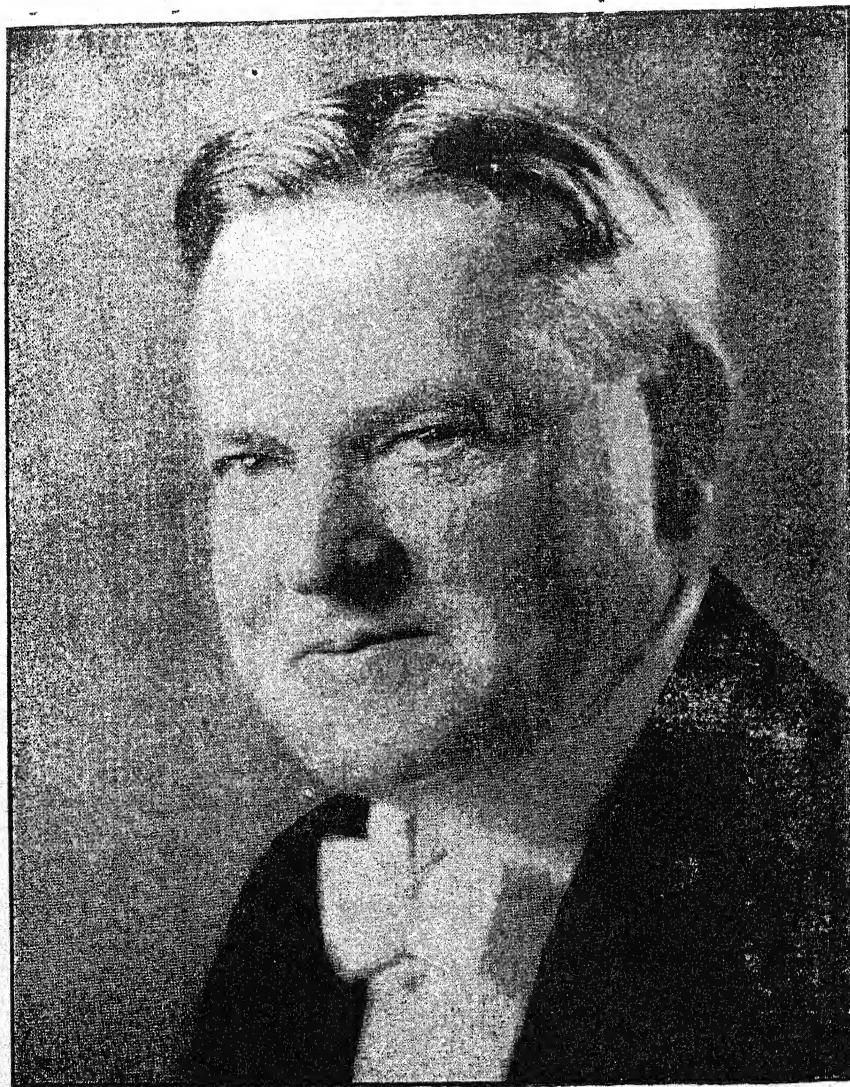


UNCLE SHAM.



PRESIDENT HOOVER.

"It would require a very courageous soul to contend that the record of Tammany Hall has been and is as clean as a hound's tooth.....It will be equally impossible to attach to Mr. Hoover the responsibility for political crimes for which the Republican Party stands indicted in public opinion."

UNCLE SHAM

*Being the Strange Tale of a Civilisation
Run Amok*

by

Kanhaya Lal Gauba.

With over forty Illustrations



THE TIMES PUBLISHING COMPANY,
LAHORE (INDIA).

".....Like Columbus, you are making the voyage of
human passion to discover an America inhabited by
supermen who dispense limitless sensations along
with infinite material generosity."

- Dekobra

PRINTED IN INDIA.
AT THE TIMES PRESS, LAHORE.

[All Rights Reserved.]

To The
Peoples of the United States,
and to the little Boston Girl who first introduced
the author to Uncle Sam



Foreword.

Political and social tendencies are sometimes named after the countries in which they are most markedly observed. Thus Prussianism after the manner and rule of the Prussians and now Americanism after America. Prussianism became distinctive with Bismarck and reached the zenith of its infamy during the World War. Americanism in its aggressive form dates from the close of the War. In the last ten years, forces and circumstances have combined to lend to Americanism a notorious publicity and prominence. The object of this book is not to explain Americanism or to judge it as a World Force or as a World Menace, as some observers would have us believe. It is, briefly, a comparative study of practice and profession, of publicity and fact, a strange tale of democracy and civilisation run amok.

Possibly the interpretation of laws, customs and White House policy detailed in the pages hereafter may shock the average American; he may protest that to describe Uncle Sam as Uncle Sham is an outrage and that the conclusions arrived at are not a fair representation of American life. Some copies of this book may even be burnt at the open stake. But, it is hardly necessary to add that this book makes no pretence to appraise or investigate the conduct or morals of individuals, nor is it denied that there are thousands of Americans of whom the insinuations implied in this book would be unfair and the criticisms unjust. I can only indicate general tendencies: the

exceptions would establish the general veracity of the rule. The conclusions may be erroneous, the inferences may be unwarranted, the facts stated may be incorrect or incomplete. If this be so, it should not be difficult to delete the 'h' in the title to this volume. But a mere appeal to sentiment would be irrelevant.

Every country has a right to control imports and aliens. There can be no grouse therefore if Scotch Whiskey is bootleg and the Chinese cannot acquire United States citizenship. But upon what grounds of material or moral prosperity is the new literary activity justified, an activity in libel and pornography? For what reason also, one is entitled to ask, is it a fashionable pastime across the Atlantic to investigate the morals of the Zulu, the decrepitude of the Filipino, the sexual impotency of the Hindu and the humbug of John Bull?

It is as well, therefore, at the outset to say in clear terms that this book is a reply to this propaganda. It is a reply not in the sense that "imitation is the sincerest form of flattery" because if it could flatter certain authors it cannot flatter Uncle Sam. It may be a strong reply, a straight reply, it may even be an ugly reply, but for all that it is a reply based on facts for which Americans and American publications themselves are mainly responsible.

Perhaps I need not have said what was so mercilessly obvious, but I do so in order that I may be early acquitted of two charges which some writers have not been in a position to refute. One is the charge of inaccuracy, for, as the facts are vouched for by American authorities, the right or the wrong rests with that source. The second charge is the meretricious dressing of the subjects treated, which as in the case of "Mother India" was conceded as excusable, and for which in the case of "Uncle Sham" I may more justly claim excuse. It is impossible that an adequate reply could be given without covering the same ugly features of life which have been provocatively treated elsewhere. And yet I make bold to assert that it is not from malice

that I write. I write that the truth about American life may be made known as fearlessly and as fully as Miss Mayo has made known what she only believed to be the truth about India.

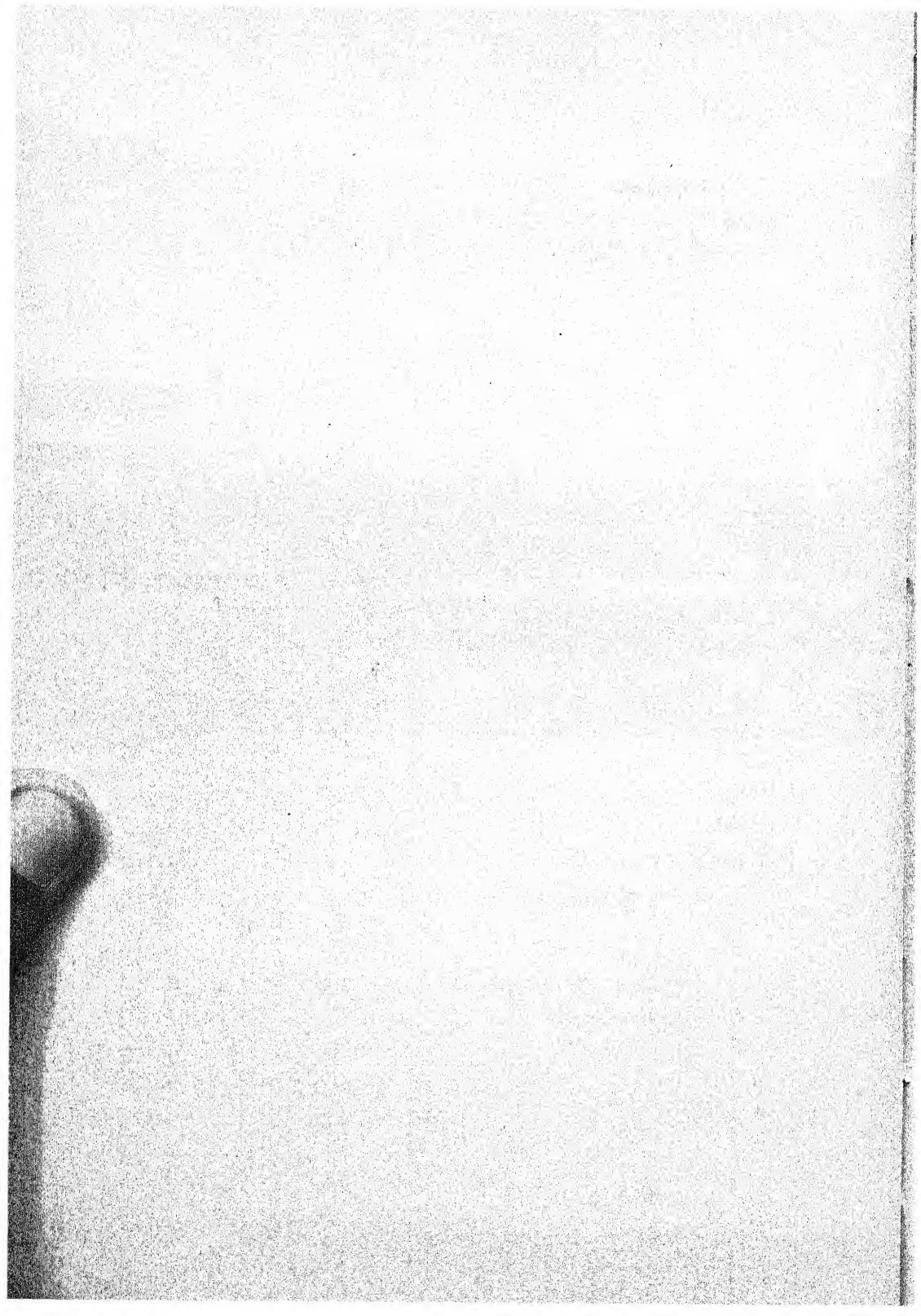
It is perhaps also necessary to explain that the facts set out are confined either to the writer's own observations in the United States or to authoritative American opinion on the subjects treated. Only a few non-American authors have been cited, whose veracity and impartiality are beyond question. The author is indebted for much valuable information and authoritative opinion to two incomparably fine American publications, the *Literary Digest* and *Current History*. The author is also under a debt of gratitude to H. L. Menkin's "*Americana*," that admirable collection of 1925 specimen Americanism, to Dr. Edith Hooker's comprehensive "*Laws of Sex*," to the *Report of the Chicago Commission on International Relations*, and to Woolaston's "*Prostitution in the United States*,"

For many of the facts and inferences in the chapters relating to American sexual life, the author is indebted to the various Macfadden publications and to Judge Lindsey's two startling volumes, "*The Revolt of Modern Youth*" and "*Companionate Marriage*." Valuable information has been collected from Mr. Stephen Graham's "*New York Nights*" and from Viscount Bryce's "*Modern Democracy*" and "*American Commonwealth*."

The drawings at the head of the chapters are either culled from current periodicals or drawn for this book by friends: to both sources the writer tenders his thanks. The illustrations are also from current American publications and are individually acknowledged.

K. G.

CECIL HOTEL,
SIMLA, S.W.,
1st May 1929.



CONTENTS.

CHAPTER—	PAGE.
I. The Giant	11
II. Foundations of Democracy	19
III. Rule of the Bosses	23
IV. K. K. K.	35
V. The Negro	41
VI. 'That Damn Lie'	55
VII. The Virgin	63
VIII. Fairies	71
IX. The Sowing	75
X. Accidents will Happen	85
XI. Before the Altar	93
XII. Fruits of the Marriage Tree	99
XIII. The Grease Spot	121
XIV. The Church of God Inc.	139
XV. An Experiment in Anarchy	157
XVI. War the Outlay	175
XVII. Uncle Sham	191
Appendices A. to I.	197-214

ILLUSTRATIONS.

		... frontispiece
President Hoover	...	...
The Skyline New York : <i>facing page</i>	...	22
Chicago Refugees : <i>facing page</i>	...	50
Chicago Race Riots : <i>facing page</i>	...	62
Chicago Race Riots : <i>facing page</i>	...	62
Miss America : <i>facing page</i>	...	66
The " Charmed " Circle : <i>facing page</i>	...	66
The Modern Eve : <i>facing page</i>	...	74
A Popular Game : <i>facing page</i>	...	80
By the Lakes : <i>facing page</i>	...	100
A Twentieth Century Farmer : <i>facing page</i>	...	118
Co-education : <i>facing page</i>	...	130
Literature popular at the Universities : <i>facing page</i>	...	130
The 6th Commandment : <i>facing page</i>	...	146
Chaufferettes of Philadelphia : <i>facing page</i>	...	155
A Philadelphia Taxi Driver : <i>facing page</i>	...	155
Children of Shame : <i>facing page</i>	...	170
A Peripatetic Saloon : <i>facing page</i>	...	170
How the Trouble Starts : <i>facing page</i>	...	186
America's Humour : <i>facing page</i>	...	190
America's Humour : <i>facing page</i>	...	190



—Liverpool *Courier*.

CHAPTER I.

THE GIANT.

A Presidential aspirant, with a flirt to his right, and a bootleg king to his left, perorated historically not long ago, at a banquet, where wine flowed freely in honour of a prospective custodian of the national conscience. Here in such genial environment, amid the enthusiastic plaudits of my ladies and gentlemen and press reporters, he pronounced the benediction to a bankrupt world on behalf of a beneficent creditor. "America," said he, "is the world's most powerful nation; the creditor of Europe; the moral giant of history.

It will not be long before America undertakes the administration of the globe."

The conception of Creation, the Universe and the Individual is not common all the world over. It varies with Climate, Environment and History. In the East Civilization was born in the primeval forest. From the dawn of history, the East was closely in touch with Nature. Western nations moved on contrary lines. The aim of Modern Culture and Civilization has been to conquer Nature, to subdue and harness it to human needs. Man and Nature are as two unreconcilable elements, two forces each struggling for domination, each seeking the subjugation of the other. Is Nature above Man, or Man above Nature? Man and the Universe constitute one great truth. They are co-extant as the grain of pollen in the buttercup.

In some quarters we are told that Western Civilization stands at the parting of the ways; that there comes a time with every Man, Nation and Empire when decay begins. With individuals it is senile deterioration, with nationhood it is disintegration, with civilization it is demoralisation. We are not, here, concerned with the general alarm raised over the disintegration and demoralisation of Civilisation, nor am I convinced that the alarm is generally well founded. There is yet some way to travel before Civilisation is in rout—some way in Europe.

But if little coins of gold become dearer than the deity of ones forefathers, if private and public lives are painted with the gilt of little coins of gold, if churches drop to the level of broadcasting stations and if murder and sodomy become pastimes of the priesthood, if girls and boys go the way of fornication and adultery, if marriage becomes a fraud, then civilisation must go the way of Sodom and Gomorrah.

Let it not be assumed that this book is written in any spirit of malice. Far from it. Nor is it written for any National or

International purpose. Europe has borrowed and Europe must pay up.

No debtor Government has inspired or financed this book. The facts are not set down with any preconceived prejudices. Nor is its object to dispute any claims—far less that America is the great moral Giant of History. Its aim is merely to measure the Giant and to record his proportions with a strict regard for veracity and truth. If the dimensions are eventually found not flattering, it will not be the fault of the measuring tape. The tape used is of American manufacture.

According to the Presidential aspirant earlier referred to, America is shortly to assume the administration of the World. Before this happy time comes, when the *Star Spangled Banner* will have ousted less musical anthems, when Mr. Baldwin will journey to the Whitehouse for his weekly instructions, when M. Poincare will receive his salary in dollars, and Mussolini has been elected Imperial Wizard of the Klan, before this happy time comes, let us look over Uncle Sam the Giant, Uncle Sam the father of Democracy, Uncle Sam the would-be President of the World, Uncle Sam whose morals are measured in giant dimensions, who is the Patron of Christian Missions and the Outlawry of War.

Uncle Sam has sons and daughters—but of these young hopefule in another chapter.

I wish I had written of America when I was younger and in love with a pretty Boston girl. Her father was a king in the States—I think it was copper or lead.

The spell of New York is instantaneous. Tall sky scrapers, the buzz of endless traffic, shouts of the newsboy, speed of the overhead and underground railways—poor London seems comparatively old-fashioned. In the dazzling splendour of windows, in the glorious luxury of Fifth Avenue, the blaze of Broadway, the giddy jazz of Harlem, the new comer forgets

his perplexities and perspective. If you bring anything of a European reputation amongst your belongings, there is an army of press reporters and a battery of camera men to broadcast your utterances and appearance for the delectation of a hundred million readers. Here you find a city humming with life, a nation of shopkeepers, keeping shop and minting dollars. There are Cadillacs whizzing past like meteors in a dream, the capitals of Europe are within range of your telephone call, frocks that make the Rue del la Paix green with envy are as much within reach as commanding an army of Negro waiters, porters and page boys. In the morning there is upon your table the tabloid and non-tabloid news of the world; at a glance you can see who has been formally divorced, and how the Uncle Sam cleans up Red propaganda. Hot water runs all day in the pipes of Manahatten and whiskey all night in every locality. It is no longer necessary to talk softly at a "speak-easy," nor is the entertainment confined to sauterne or soda.

Sheets are changed every day and pyjamas are damnably provocative. Glorious bachelor apartments where strip poker celebrates the subversion of complacent virtue and reception rooms of Wall Street bosses ornate with the treasures of the world—blue boys and green girls, the chairs of Tuten Kamen, the hats of Napoleon, fragments of the Pyramids, the Sphinx's missing nose and in the garden the Leaning Tower from Pisa and the Cenotaph from London. Buddhist figures on the walls, Persian carpets and Bokhara rugs, Dresden China, silver boxes and portraits carved in ivory, curtains hung in blue and lace, dining rooms with mirrorlike tables and candlesticks of silver with rose pink shades like streaks of lightning in a sunset, goblets of red and golden wine, pretty faces and diamond studs—this is New York. But one side of it.

Men see the light and rush like moths to a lamp on a summer's night. You see the blazing chandelier shedding a halo of glory upon fair forms, all round you gleam the scintillation of sparkling gems among tall stately figures, jewelled shirt

fronts, white bosoms and fairy feet. You see the dream cars, manicure and massage saloons and a hundred and one ostentations of national prosperity, of luxury, ease, extravagance and the mammon god. Round the countryside are scattered other signs of national achievement and national prosperity. The huge motor car manufacturing plants of Detroit, the vast oil refineries of Texas and the giant mills around Kansas are among the first three major highways of Uncle Sam's menace to world industrialism. Capitalism has its evils, but in this farflung Empire, gifted by all bountiful Nature with an almost inexhaustible store of mineral and forest wealth, to capitalism has been added the evils of Trust, Combination and graft. The success of industry, partly due to world conditions after the war of 1914, partly due to national resources, partly to the remarkable energy which is one of the greatest characteristics of the American race, Americanism has come to the fore in recent years, overshadowing even the gigantic achievements of Britain. Americanism unfortunately is not confined to the success of American Industry. It stands—prominently alas—for those aspects of modern life that are the scourges of our present day civilisation—cant, tyranny, selfishness, materialism, defiance of nature and the ridicule of God.

The Almighty Dollar is appropriately named. The Dollar to the American is something of his God. Business colours every aspect of his life, his politics, his dealings with his neighbours, his relations with the other sex and his associations with the Church. His Dollar buys state legislation, it buys immunity from distasteful laws, it buys the luxuries of his daily life, the Dollar has made marriage a mockery, motherhood a curse; but what of that? The Dollar buys license, the Dollar buys women, the dollar buys the titled heiresses of Europe. The lust of the dollar overshadows other instincts. The dollar destiny is the idea of American manhood and American womanhood. If Dollars cannot be earned from the tillings of the soil, dollars are forthcoming from Bank burglary, from graft, from theft, from adultery and from bogus company pro-

motion. The Movies tell you all this and more. They tell you other ways how dollars are made, how inconvenient fathers are put out of the way and brothers are poisoned, how sisters are sold. There are even true stories of parents conspiring against their own children. All the world over there are tales of inconsiderate parents, parents who neglect, and parents who misjudge. There are stories of cruel stepmothers and selfish uncles and heartless mothers-in-law. There are tales of mothers leaving their babies on strange door-steps in the hope that charity may provide for the little ones, there are stories of fathers in the dead of night slaying wife and children to save the family from hunger and privation. There are tales of unscrupulous guardians taking advantage of half-witted wards, but only in America so far as we know, is it possible for a father to collect evidence against his daughter and send her to a lunatic asylum for the sake of an inheritance.*

The average American boasts of his Christianity, but perhaps in no country of the world are Christian morals and Christian ethics so openly flouted as in the United States. The violations of conduct considered as Christian form too much of the life of the American to make it possible for him to remember the law of Moses or the ways of Jesus. But where the conscience smites, the dollar buys absolution. The American pays his contribution for the conversion of the heathen and non-believer and believes that the dollar reserves de luxe cabins in the Kingdom of Heaven.

One hears of some apologies for American life. But these apologies come mainly from outside observers. The average American tenders no such apology for his civilization. He conceives himself a giant, he is proud of his appearance, he is proud of his constitution, he is proud of his power. One cannot say if he is proud of his morals.

*See *True Story Magazine*, June 1928.

The average American is the giant of world tourist travel. He takes the *Belgianland* from San Francisco, deposits a thousand dollars with the American Express Company, stays a day in Honolulu, three days in China, a day in Ceylon, a week in Italy, a day at Liverpool, and is back in New York in three months. On the way, his dollars are picked up by hungry guides and starving curio hawkers. On his return he invariably writes a book. He finds that no peaches of whose flavour he can speak from personal knowledge are quite so delicious as the clinging peaches of California, he finds that American institutions are the freest in the world, he finds that the missions he has paid for are doing good work, he finds that Hoover is a bigger man than Lloyd George, and reports that he offered the Pope five thousand dollars a day for a lecture tour in the States. The final touches necessary to an American publication add that Prohibition is a success and that Pershing Won the War.

This book cannot cover every phase of Americanism. The succeeding chapters explain in greater details some of the main problems and aspects of the American civilization of to-day. As already stated this book is not written in any carping spirit. It is written for and dedicated to the descendants of the Pilgrim Fathers whose memory is toasted every year. The Pilgrim Fathers, disgusted with the bigotry of the Mother Country, went across the seas and set up their institutions of freedom. Eventually they kicked poor mother out but that is a very, very, old story. It has long been forgiven and forgotten.

The climate of the new Homeland apparently agreed with the Pilgrim Fathers—their sons became the great moral giants of history, the super-dentists, the par excellence manufacturers of Flit. If America contributed no more to the sum and total of human comforts than toothaches relieved and mosquitos asphyxiated, the world would entertain emotions of gratitude. But America exports tin Chevrolets and cheap tobacco, mis-

sionaries and dance records, cant and humbug. America and American goods are well advertised, and no doubt the advertisements are well paid for. The following chapters deal with products American, other than those of General Motors, United States Steel or Standard Oil.



INDETERMINATE
SENTENCE.
—The *"Age Herald."*

CHAPTER II.

FOUNDATIONS OF DEMOCRACY.

Equality is the potential, if not immediate, basis of the theory of democracy. In the Eighteenth Century it was considered easy of attainment and it was with wonderful hopes that modern democracy was born. The intellectual conception of democracy precluded the introduction of the hereditary prerogative and class distinction. Opportunity and education were the fundamentals of the faith. The new idealists argued democracy would obtain a reward for industry and promotion

of genius, the downfall of kings, economic dominance of the greatest good for the greatest number, purity of public life, the security of minorities, disappearance of inherited privilege and, in short, the economic and social millenium of the people.

But what is the outcome of this fanfare of zeal and enthusiasm? What has become of the promised millenium? What has crystallised?

The failure of democracy in other countries is a matter extraneous to this work. Democracy has been tried in various degrees, in various scopes, in various spheres, with varying results. In the Nineteenth Century democracy was visualised as the coming Utopia. To-day democracy is everywhere attacked, scorned, and ridiculed and nowhere more than in the United States. Thus Mr. Menken in a recent work, "Notes on Democracy," maintains that the democratic idea "is incomparably idiotic and hence incomparably amusing."

Perhaps what is more amusing than democracy is the depression that prevails in the States over the failure of the principles and ideals that democracy in theory has stood for. It cannot be said that democracy has not had a fair trial. Of all the countries in the world, America had the finest opportunity and situation for the trial and promotion of the democratic state. In her isolation, her freedom, her economic independence, America could have set a model for progress, equality and honesty in social and political relationships. But perhaps, as Alexander Hamilton confessed: "There is something in our climate which belittles every animal, human or brute."

It is perhaps necessary to, here, indicate, in the briefest outline, the principles which inspired the first authors of the American Constitution as also the main frailties of the Constitution as framed, and as we find it to-day.

The fundamental rights and principles that the makers of the Constitution endeavoured to secure for the nation were:

- (i) The recognition of complete equality among all citizens.

- (ii) The absolute sovereignty of the people.
- (iii) Protection of the people against usurpation or misuse of authority by their officers.

With these ends in view the founders of the Constitution were particular to keep the great departments of State entirely distinct—Executive, Judicial and Legislative.

The Federal or National Constitution was drafted in 1781. The Constitution followed in general the constitutions of thirteen original States as they existed at that time. In the year 1781 two amendments were made to satisfy public opinion in respect of certain unpopular features. Two amendments were passed in 1798 and 1804 and thirteen others followed after the Civil War. The Fourteenth Amendment is famous because it gave the Negro rights of citizenship. Between 1911 and 1920 four amendments have been embodied in the Constitution. Of the three more important, one transferred the right of selecting Senators from State Legislatures to the peoples of the States, another extended the suffrage to women in the Union, the third prohibited the production and sale of intoxicating liquors.

The Federal Constitution consists of :

(a) *The President*, who is the head of the Executive, and is elected for four years by persons specially chosen by the people in each State for the purpose.

(b) *A Central Legislature*, called Congress, consisting of two Houses, the House of Representatives and the Senate. The House of Representatives is elected for two years by a direct franchise from districts approximately equal in population. The number of representatives is periodically increased after every official census. At present there are about 450 members. The amendment of 1870 designed to enfranchise all classes of citizens has been practically nullified in most Southern States. Upon some pretext or other Negroes are debarred from exercising the vote. Each State sends two representatives to the Senate irrespective of the size of the State. Senators are

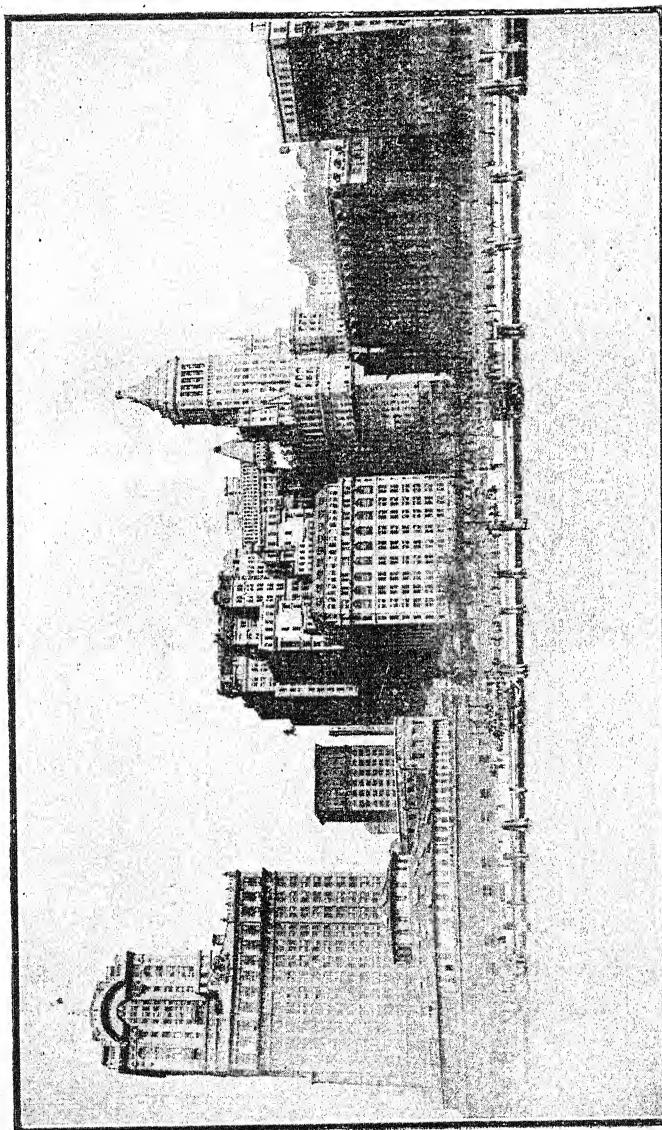
UNCLE SHAM.

elected for six years. The members are paid and at present receive about £1,500 per annum which is large compared with the remuneration paid to legislators in Europe.

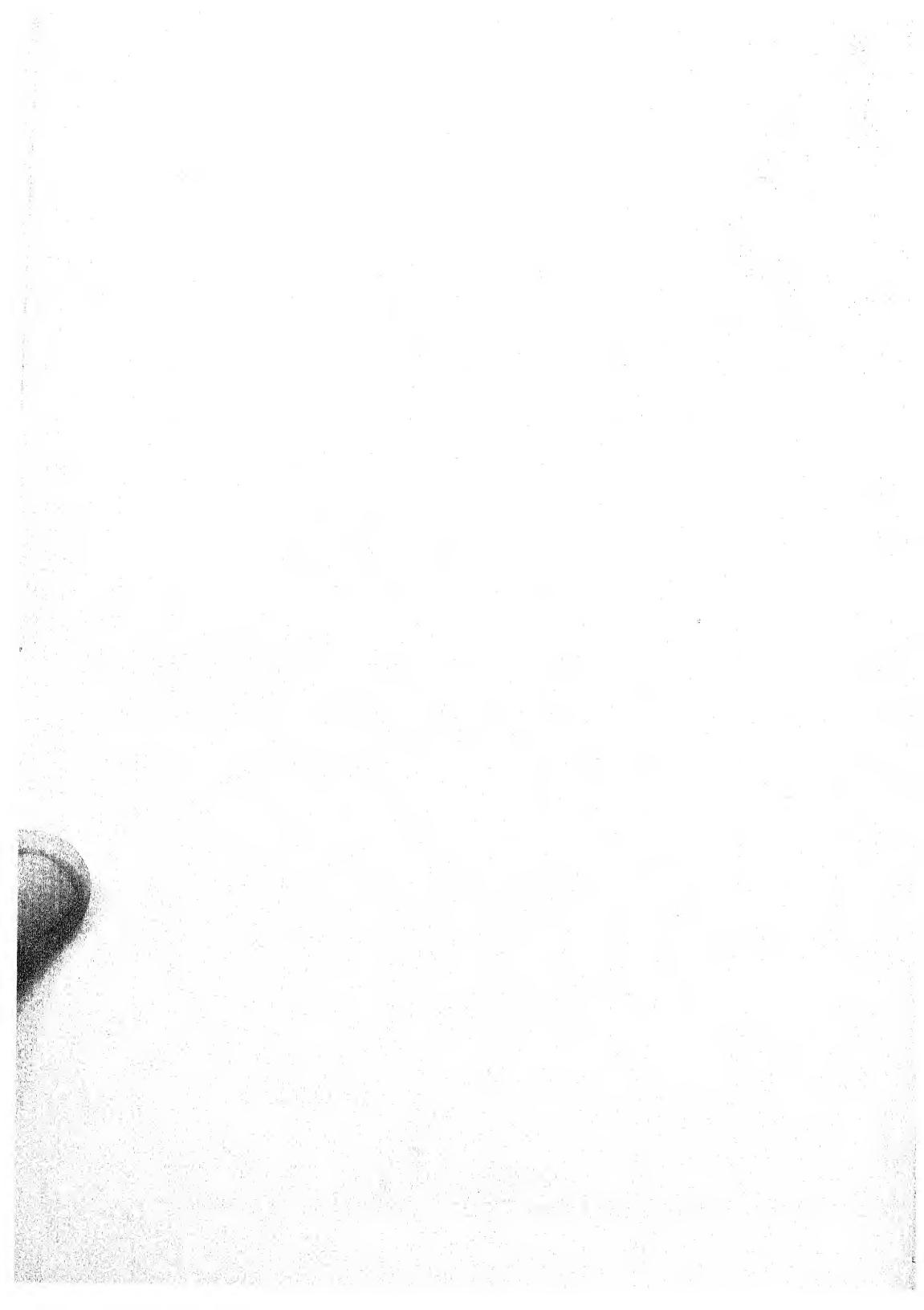
(c) *The Executive* consisting of heads of departments and a large number of officials are appointed by the President and are responsible to him. They come and go with the change of Presidents and Parties.

(d) *The Judiciary*.—The Federal Judiciary consists of inferior Federal Courts all over the country and the Supreme Court whose Judges are appointed for life by the President with the consent of the Senate and removable only by impeachment. It may be added that several have been removed.

The Constitution of the States is on somewhat similar lines. A Governor is elected for two to four years by direct popular vote. The Governor is head of the Executive, which consists of two classes of officials, those elected to their office by direct vote, and those who hold their appointment from the Governor. Both classes are usually recruited from the party caucus. The Legislature of each State has two Chambers, both elected on a manhood or universal franchise. Excepting in a few States, judges are elected at the polls for a term of years usually short. This system of the election of Executive and Judicial officers is upon the principle of popular sovereignty, that is to say, entrusting as many offices to popular election as possible, so that the official or judge may feel that he is immediately responsible to the people and holds his office at their pleasure. But what is sound in theory may be a failure in practice. And this is what happened to the ideals of the American democracy,



SKYLINE NEW YORK





A HORSE APIECE.

—Detroit News.

CHAPTER III.

THE RULE OF THE BOSSES.

Upon the sovereignty of the people, the fathers of the American Constitution hoped to build the mighty temple of free and democratic Government. But upon the foundations laid by Washington and other early Constitution makers grew Tammany Hall and Wall Street. The sovereignty of the People degenerated into the sovereignty of the Bosses.

Roosevelt distinguished between the boss and the leader in this way; a leader leads the people; a boss drives the people.

The leader gets his hold by open appeal to the reason and conscience of his followers; the boss keeps his hold by manipulation, by intrigue, by secret and furtive appeals to many phases of self-interest. Strong and genuine party leadership is needed to replace the leadership of the boss working through the spoils system for special interests.

One of the most conspicuous aspects of the American democracy is presented in the development of the party system. Croly discussed the party in terms of governmental structure. The party system, reasoned Croly, endeavours to do for the people what they should do themselves. "It seeks to interpose two authoritative partisan organizations between the people and their Government It demands and obtains for a party an amount of loyal service and personal sacrifice which a public-spirited democrat should lavish only on the state." The paradox of American political life is that the individual can be effective only as a member of a party, while within the party he must make larger sacrifices than he should ever be called upon to offer.

For nearly a century party machines have regulated American political life. Offices have been filled at the dictation of the bosses, by men conspicuous often for impotence and inexperience. The practice has grown that officials change whenever the administration changes. The allegiance of the party members has, very naturally, been primarily to the party caucus and little to the public. With the fear of displeasing the Bosses, they discharge their duties at the behest and dictate of the party executive. Public offices have thus degenerated into posts of party patronage and the "spoils of Office" become the fruits of loyalty to Boss and Party. This applies not merely to the Executive but also to the Judiciary.

Viscount Bryce explains how this came to pass:

"The party organizations laid hold of the city governments. They managed the Primaries and Conventions, nominated the party candidates, looked after the elections, resorting, when necessary, to personation and other frauds,

and adding to these, if their party controlled the officials in charge of the elections, intimidation at the polls, ballot stuffing and false counting. Most of their candidates were so obscure as to be unknown to the majority of the voters, who were thus obliged to vote on the party ticket. Thus a Ring might, by the use of those ignorant masses who constituted its voting stock, fill the offices with its creatures, the chief among whom found many ways of making illicit gains out of contracts or the sales of franchises (such as the laying of street railways) or by levying blackmail on firms who desired permission to transgress the law."**

The process, according to Viscount Bryce, by which a little group of selfish professional politicians gained in each city, first the control of the party organisation and then through it the control of the city, can seldom be traced, for the Ringsters conspired in secret, and the public records give only the outer aspect of their actions. Usually a few of the wiliest and most plausible who became prominent in the primaries were elected to the managing committees. There, getting to know one another, and having a common aim, they found it profitable to work together, filled the committees with dependants on whose obedience they could rely, and so grew to be a small irresponsible junta, who kept power because they proved themselves fit to use it. Sometimes they formed a sort of ruling Ring, always small. But in this Ring there was generally some one conspicuous either by his craft or by the popular talents which disposed the rank and file to follow him. If he had the gifts of leadership, boldness, self-confidence and the capacity for quick decision, he became the boss. Democrats talk of equality, but efficiency is after all the first requisite in all governments of a nation or of a faction; so in the midst of equality oligarchies and autocracies rise by a law of nature. Where the control of one strong swift will makes for success, that will brings its possessor to the top. Thus the party organization, based on democratic principles, and respecting those principles

** "Modern Democracies," Macmillan & Co., London, Vol. II, page 111.

in its rules, fell under what may be called an autocratic oligarchy with the Boss for its head, while the rest of the Ring formed his Cabinet Council.*

Thus despite the sacred principle of equality Bossdom has ruled in the party organisations. In New York, for instance, the dynasty of the Bosses who during eighty years have reigned purely by the gifts of political leadership may be compared with that line of monarchs, neither hereditary nor elective, but most of them ruling by their military talents, which ruled the Roman Empire from Nero down to Constantine.†

“ While ward politicians made their petty gains in the lowest strata of city life, and the ward leader directed his voting regiment like a colonel, members of the Ring installed themselves in offices where money could be scooped in by large operations.”‡

In short, therefore, the institutions created by the early founders of the American Constitution became prostituted to business organisations, such as oil, steel and rail-road the Ku Klux Klan, the priesthood and the professional grafter, in fact to everybody except the average 100 per cent citizen.

Between the morals of Tammany Hall and the Philadelphia Ring there has been little to choose. They are both Executive departments with a Wall Street franchise. The power of Wall Street is a byword among the nations and the Bosses of Wall Street are the Bosses of the World. Wall Street controls legislation, Wall Street declares war and makes peace. Wall Street finances the Lindberg flights and the Mexican expeditions. Wall Street is interested in the Pan-American Congress, in the naval parity with Great Britain, in the open door in China, in the Phillipine ‘ trust ’ and the preservation of free institutions in Nicaragua.

**Modern Democracies*, (Supra) Vol. II, page 111.

†*Ibid.*

‡*Ibid.*

Of the power of Wall Street to-day, we have, for instance, the testimony of no less a person than President Wilson. In the *New Freedom*, President Wilson wrote that the "Government is run from Wall Street. There the President goes with hat in hand looking for orders." Wall Street's politics and morals are on the same level. The Rubber baron, the Steel marquis and the Oil duke, who live in Park Avenue and roll about in dazzling Packards and cohabit with expensive mistresses, buy the Secretary of the Treasury, the Senator or perhaps even the Prince of Print, as easily as the movie Star or the Russian dancer. It takes an immense amount of conviction to stand up against 50,000 United States dollars, and when dollars are plentiful and cheap, dollars rule the world, and the gifts of God look mean.

The long searching enquiries instituted by the Senate into various scandals, the charges and counter charges at election camps, the multitudinous litigation in the prosecution of offenders constantly engaging the attention of State and Federal authorities are evidence of the state of affairs as they are.

A member of the editorial staff of *Chattanooga (Tenn) Times*, R. A. Patton, writing in *Current History* states:

"*In the Northern States physical violence is less (than in the Southern States), but elections are bought and sold, competent men are forced from office, and incompetents put in their places; municipal, county and State Governments are honeycombed with rottenness and intrigue.*"*

A Committee of the Senate of the United States recently investigated an oil scandal.† Certain very interesting facts were unearthed. The evidence showed that "fake" gifts had been made by various individuals to cover the receipt of the \$260,000 in Liberty bonds turned over to Will H. Hays, Chairman of the Republican National Committee, by Harry F. Sinclair in November 1923. James A. Patten, Chicago grain operator, testified on the witness stand that in return for his contribution to the party fund he had received twenty-five \$1,000 Liberty bonds.

*See *Current History*, April 1928.

†*Ibid.*

Andrew W. Mellon, Secretary of the Treasury, disclosed in a letter to Senator Welsh that he refused the \$50,000 worth of Liberty bonds sent to him by Mr. Hays without any " previous understanding," but that " at the same time, or shortly thereafter, I made a contribution of \$50,000 of my own funds, which was the amount I intended to contribute." The finding of a memorandum among the papers of the late John T. Pratt bearing the pencilled names " Weeks," " Andy," " Du Pont " and " Butler " in relation to his contribution of \$50,000 to the Republican national campaign deficit of 1920, started the Senate on an inquiry in several new directions. Senator Borah stated that he had appealed to Chairman William Butler of the Republican National Committee to take steps to purge the party of the " stigma of oil." Senator Borah suggested that the Republican organization return the " sinister " oil money.

Albert Bushnell Hart, Professor Emeritus of the Harvard University, writing in this connection, said :

*" After months of strenuous litigation, the group of criminals engaged in the business of corrupting public men, in State and national service, by buying or otherwise acquiring favourable grants and tainted decisions, has reached the point where a few of them are actually suffering the tortures of easy imprisonment for contempt of Court! By flight from the jurisdiction of the Courts and by refusal to testify against each other, certain very rich criminals have so far escaped any real punishment; with two or three honourable exceptions, the heavy stock-holders in the corporations which have been the worst sinners, stand by the few who have actually been indicted and re-elect them to directorates and other positions of trust."**

The intrusion of what Americans proudly describe as " business " into public life is the main cause of the laxity of law observance and wide corruption. Under the " spoils " system most of the responsible positions of public offices are at the disposal of prominent politicians of unscrupulous fibre. An incredible percentage of the American administration is

**Current History*, April 1928.

honeycombed with corruption. From all-round evidence it would appear that 90 per cent is a conservative figure. According to the picture of the United States Government in the one hundred and thirty-ninth year of the Republic, painted in a speech by Senator the Hon. James T. Heflin of Alabama in 1925, "the Federal Departments are honeycombed with crooks and gorged with grafters."

In the sordid race of the conversion of public funds and offices to private uses apparently not the highest disdain to enter. In November 1920, Governor Horace F. Graham of Vermont was sentenced to from five to eight years' imprisonment for the larceny of state funds. In 1921 Governor Small and Lieut. Governor Sterling of Illinois were indicted for robbing the State of \$535,000. The case of the prosecution was that the accused were parties to a scheme whereby large sums of public money were placed on deposit in a "safe fund" with an institution calling itself the Grant Park Bank. It was alleged that the "Grant Park Bank" was not a Bank at all, but merely a name under which Small, Sterling and their confederates made loans from the State funds to certain great packing houses and that the conspirators pocketed the difference between the interest (varying from 5 to 8½ per cent) paid them for the use of the money and the beggarly two per cent allowed to the State by the "Grant Park Bank."

While these unpleasant suggestions were being made in Illinois, trouble was brewing also in connection with the State Bank of Okmulgee and the Governor of Oklahoma. The Governor was arrested on an indictment for accepting a bribe of \$25,000 to place State Funds in the Bank, well knowing, it is alleged, that the institution was unable to meet its obligations.

The Governor group of scandals may be regarded as significant symptoms of the general unhealthiness of public and private morals. Governors are presumably the political cream

of the country, yet nobody manifests very much surprise or distress when individual after individual from this exalted class is involved in scandals of this kind.

As for the host of defalcations, bribery and corruption among town and city officials, prohibition agents, secret service police and other small fry the disease is too much of an epidemic.

The position in Massachusetts alone at the beginning of 1912 was roughly as follows:

Attorney-General, J. Weston Allen, was under indictment for larceny from a poor woman by whom he had been engaged to do legal work prior to his election as Attorney-General; Judge Peirce, of the State Supreme Court, was under indictment for conspiracy to obstruct the ends of justice; District Attorney Nathan A. Tufts, of the Northern District, had been removed by the Supreme Court under charges of a yet more serious character; another former District Attorney, of the Northern district, was under indictment for conspiracy; disbarment proceedings were under way against several leading Boston lawyers; three more were under sentence for receiving stolen papers, taken from the office of a rival; various judges were the objects of vicious attack and extravagant eulogy according to their treatment of cases argued before them by members of one or other of the two legal gangs.

A large part of the United States is within what is popularly called among politicians as the Bonus Belt. The belt is "that part of the United States in which the American Legion is most influential in politics. The chief purpose of the Legion is to obtain grants from the public funds for its members."*

Corruption was described as the 'big issue' of the Presidential campaigning of last year. Senator Borah made a remarkably refreshing speech—remarkable for its candour and its information—on April 28th, before the Hamilton Club of

**Americana* 1925, Martin Hopkinson & Co., page 302.

Chicago in which he declared that corruption would be the year's vital issue:

"The world will judge the Republican party not by what took place prior to the recent exposures, but by the course and conduct of the party after the exposures. Nothing could be worse than the conditions lately uncovered at Washington. No one should underestimate the searching significance of these faithless and sordid transactions, and no one can overstate the profound issues which they present for the consideration of the American people.

"But it is my contention that the future of the Republican party and its possibility of service to the public depend not upon what a few men did in secret and without the slightest knowledge of the voters of the party, but upon what you and I and all Republicans knowing the facts, advised of the treachery, and warned of the evils, propose to do next and in the open.

"Against the secret machinations of unscrupulous men neither business nor political organizations can at all times defend. But when the deeds stand uncovered and the practices are known, the simplest and most primary principles of honesty and decency will repudiate the acts and reject the fruits and renounce the obligations of the crime.

"Corruption will undoubtedly be one of the issues of this campaign. We cannot avoid it if we would and we should not avoid it if we could.

"The improper use of money in politics presents a problem as broad and deep and vital as representative democracy itself, and the people know it. Partisan fencing will not satisfy them. Purity of the ballot and integrity of the officials are the beginning and the end of popular government. Without these the people are disfranchised and sooner or later become the victims of exploitation and oppression, and this they know.

"The fight for clean government is a fight for fine government. This the people perfectly understand. The issue is here. It is a notorious fact that the officials of great cities, who hold in their keeping the decency and

health of millions of men and women and children, go into partnership with crime and lawlessness.

"The issue is here. It is no ordinary condition. It is no ordinary situation. The future of our party turns upon how we propose to meet it. Timidity has no place in such a fight. Silence is accessory after the crime."*

There is little to choose between Republicans and Democrats so far as honesty in politics is concerned. This is generally agreed. Thus the New Haven *Journal Courier* writing recently on this subject observed:

"It would require a very courageous soul to contend that the record of Tammany Hall has been and is as clean as a hound's tooth. It will require an even more courageous soul to charge that Governor Smith is the product and the beneficiary of its corrupt manners.

"It will be equally impossible to attach to Mr. Hoover the responsibility for political crimes for which the Republican party stands indicted in public opinion.

"The collection of motes and beams in both organizations is so large that the pot could not possibly call the kettle black without a tongue in its cheek. Looking at the picture from its darkest angle, it would require a genius to make Tammany Hall appear worse and more inherently wicked than the Republican organisations in Pennsylvania, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, and even New York itself.

"We are not offering a brief for Tammany Hall. We are illustrating the absurdity of attempting to make the pot blacker and the kettle whiter. In other words, the campaign ahead will turn on the character of men placed in nomination and not on past history, except so far as fundamental principles of Government are concerned and enter into their appeals for votes."†

It may seem surprising, but nevertheless true, that allegiance to the party mandate and abuse of the constitution and laws is not confined to the executive or the legislature. There

**The Literary Digest*, 12th May 1928.

†*Ibid*, 13th June 1928.

RULE OF THE BOSSES.

have been many cases indicating the partisanship and partiality and even corruption of the judiciary. On a bill of particulars filled by a recent Crime Commission against three Judges of Chicago, the following appeared :

*"It is submitted that the judges whose conduct is here being enquired into, have wittingly, because of their political affiliation with the State's Attorney or unwittingly, but complacently, aided the State's Attorney in the dereliction of his duty, and have permitted their respective courts to be subjected to the criticism of unwarranted and improper judicial clemency, instead of asserting their right, power and authority to require a vigorous, full and complete prosecution of persons charged by the grand jury with criminal offences."**

The Washington Post, commenting upon this state of affairs made the following interesting remarks :

"The reports go to show that there is only one chance in ten of a criminal being arrested; one chance in five that he will be found guilty after being arrested, and one chance in thirty that when found guilty he will be punished.

"A study made by the Illinois Association for Criminal Justice for 1926 showed that out of 12,543 prosecutions in State Courts for felonies, 10,568 resulted in no punishment whatever. In the same year of 10,829 cases where individuals were arraigned in municipal courts on felony charges, over 6,000 were released by municipal judges. 'The practice of the State's Attorney,' says the Association, 'in compromising with criminals and agreeing to reduction of the character of charges from a grave offence to a petty offence, has become so prevalent in Cook County that the criminal population has become contemptuous of the law, and fear of punishment no longer is a deterrent of crime'."†

This is virtually a confession that organized society has broken down.

**The Literary Digest*, 2nd June 1928.

†*Ibid.*

UNCLE SHAM.

The corruption of the Judiciary, the graft in the Federal and State Departments, and the sordid intrigue that colours the Rule of the Bosses is taken, more or less, for granted. There is some outcry, some copy for the newspapers, some scandal to amuse, some gossip to recount; but the monster engines of corruption hurtle along the permanent highways of American finance and American politics as matters of ordinary routine and timetable. The matter is not of very serious importance to the average American. Says Viscount Bryce:

*“The palpable consequence of the recurring scandals in city government has been to lower the standard of political morality. Sins frequent and patent which go unpunished cease to excite reprobation. The “boodling alderman,” and the aspiring young lawyer who, coming from a pious home, succumb to temptation and become “graffters,” are familiar figures on the American stage and arouse more amusement than blame. Since nobody expects virtue in a city politician nobody is disappointed when he fails to show it, and many live down to the level expected from them.”**



Ku Klux Klan.

CHAPTER IV.

K. K. K.

As we have seen in a previous chapter, the administration of the Government is performed by three main departments, the President or Governor and the Executive, the Legislature and the Judiciary. We have also seen how Party organisations control Elections, rule the Executive and corrupt the Judiciary. We have noted evidence that there is little to choose between the two Parties for honest and fair dealings, we have noted that Governors are not above larceny of State funds, that business colours the working of the Legislatures, that the Executive owes its existence to the favour of the party Bosses, we have seen that State and Federal Departments are honeycombed with graft and corruption and that the Judiciary is not above approach and

removed from bias. Finally we have seen in some manner how far the aims and ideals of the American Constitution as to the sovereignty of the people are matters of practice.

Now a few words on a matter intrinsically bound up with the liberty and equality of the subject.

The liberty of the subject, preservation of law and order, the protection to minorities and freedom in labour, in worship, in speech are the essentials of civilized government. Liberty and sovereignty of the people are fundamentals of popular government and of democracy. America is generally viewed and proclaimed as the world's greatest democracy: yet Congressional investigations have shown that perhaps nowhere else is the law so openly defied, liberty so ruthlessly trampled upon, and law and order, the safety of life and property so shamelessly violated as in many parts of the United States. These investigations have gone to reveal that whole States are under terrorist domination, as witness Oregon, Texas, Colorado, Indiana, Oklahoma, Kansas, Louisiana, Alabama, and, to some extent, Illinois.*

In this connection a history of the terrorist organisation is not out of place. Who does not know of the significance of K. K. K.? It is unnecessary to tell the reader of average information: these initials are well known throughout the world as symbols of terrorism, barbarity and murder.

The promotion of the modern Ku Klux Klan, was carried on the usual American principles—advertisement and commission. William J. Simons in 1915 contracted with two shrewd promoters, Edward Young Clark and Elizabeth Tyler, who foresaw the financial possibilities of the Order, to "sell" the Klan to the people on a commission on the Klecktoken or initiation fee collected. The promoters made use, as an American observer puts it, "of a perverted Americanism best described as a triumvirate of 'hates.' Hate for the Catholic, because

*See *Current History*, April 1928.

he was supposed to owe allegiance to the Pope of Rome, and to be working to deliver America to a Catholic Hierarchy, Hate for the Jew, because he was supposed to own America financially, and Hate for the alien and Negro as they were supposed to menace White supremacy in the United States. Along with these 'hates' went the talking points that the constitution would be upheld and justice promoted. The programme achieved considerable success and by 1923 the order had reached the amazing membership of a million and a half. When the Klan was well established and the promoters had reaped a goodly financial harvest, Simons sold out in 1922 his financial interests in this terrorist organization to Hiram Wesley Evans, for the sum of \$146,500. Evans thereupon became the Imperial Wizard of the Klan.

Court records and State documents show the extent to which the Klan achieved power. Reports of Congressional investigations also prove that whole States came under Klan domination. The Klan carried out its executions and terrorisations at night under the cloak and mask and established a record for corruption, brutality and savagery, so much so that Governor Parker of Louisiana had to go to Washington to seek help to suppress the "horrifying crimes" of the Klan. The State of Indiana was a "horrible example of political corruption." Governor Olcott of Oregon and Governor Allen outraged by the atrocities perpetrated in other States in the name of law and order invoked the powers of Superior Courts and Federal authorities in the efforts to oust Klan officials from their domains.

Floggings in which victims, not only Negroes but white women, have been lashed into unconsciousness and left to die of their injuries have been uncovered in many States. A list of the atrocities perpetrated in the domains of Uncle Sam's civilized government, or even a partial list as revealed in various courts would take more space than is available here. A lad whipped with branches until his back was ribboned flesh; a Negress beaten and left helpless to contract pneumonia from

exposure and die; a naturalized foreigner flogged until his back was pulp because he married an American woman; a Negro lashed until he sold his land to a white man for a fraction of its value—these are only a few of the cases.*

The Grand Jury of Crenshaw County likened "the rule of the mask and lash" to the "terror of the Inquisition." The Jury referred to revolting murders from Indiana, from Mer Rouge, *La*; from Herrin, *Ill*; and from Ohio. In Texas, people gasped at "the whispered details of a crime too atrocious for words." On a night early in 1923 "a gang of hooded men had kidnapped a travelling salesman, named Burlenson, taken him out to the woods tied him with rope and barbed wire and beaten him until he was unconscious. They then dragged him to the further square of Taylor, poured creosote on his wounds and left him there to die."†

In Oteman, *Okla.*, a coloured woman was taken by a mob and together with her fourteen year old son was hanged from a bridge. The woman was raped before she was hanged. In Coatesville, *Pa*, a man was taken from a bed in the hospital and burned alive. His writhing body was poked back into the flames as he tried to drag himself away. All those arrested for the frolic were acquitted. Recently, while New York millions were acclaiming the glory of America in the Lindberg flight, a mob of a thousand barbarians in Mississippi were enjoying the frolic of chaining two Negroes to a telegraph pole baptising them in gasoline and setting them afire. In South Carolina, while two men and women were being tried, the Judge directed a verdict of 'not guilty' against the woman. The jury would probably have acquitted the two men. But what happened? That very night a mob gathered and entered the jail with the connivance of the officers of the law and these two men and the woman were taken out and shot.‡

**New Age*, March 1928.

†*Ibid.*

‡*Ibid.*

These orgies appear to have a peculiar fascination for Uncle Sam. The "man hunts" as reported by a staff reporter of the *St. Louis Post Despatch* "are conducted on a sporting basis" with a "horrible cold deliberateness and a spirit of fun about it." The writer compares it to "nothing so much as a holiday crowd in the Roman Colosseum except that the shouters were their own gladiators and their own wild beasts."

This barbarism and mob violence are promoted, we are assured by the author of *America Comes of Age*, by "the best elements of the community—society people, high officials and even judges." The author goes on to say, "they have told me themselves The cordial polished gentleman with whom you are talking is possibly a murderer who has gone into the wood at night to kill a man outnumbered by a hundred to one, and thousands of others, your friends among them may have been his accomplices."* Enquiries into some of the outrages reveal the complicity of the highest in the land. Governor Moody of Texas in an interview with *New Age*, March 1928, referring to his investigations and discoveries of the criminals involved in the Taylor atrocity, enumerated above, says, "One of these fellows turned out to be a clergyman. All the others were men I had known from boyhood—men who had grown up in my home town with me."

The complicity, or, at least, the tacit indifference of Governor Gravy in the atrocities committed in Alabama, recently, is one of the scandals of American political history. A letter alleged to have been found in a safe is said to have disclosed the key to the whole situation and is remarkable in that it definitely associated the terrorist activities with the tacit indifference, if not active sympathy of the Chief of the State Executive.

The letter left the Governor in an unenviable light. United States Senator Tom Heflin asked the pertinent query "Is Governor Graves going to condone and approve the form of super-government and law nullification by his capital appointees?

*Pages 98-99.

If so, then he may understand that many further removed from him will announce that the Governor of the State is in sympathy with the defiance of the Courts." Subsequent events appeared to show that the Governor was not without this sympathy. Mr. McCall the Attorney-General wanted \$10,000 to prosecute 102 cases, the Governor approved only of \$1,500 and further insisted that Mr. McCall should make use of only solicitors or country attorneys who, in many cases, held their offices by virtue of Klan support, "an obviously crippling limitation."*



Abraham Lincoln.

CHAPTER V.

THE NEGRO.

The relation of the White and Negro populations in the United States—generally spoken of as the Negro problem—is the most grave and perplexing of domestic issues. It is also, perhaps, the largest blot on the institutions of the American democracy. The racial distinction, discrimination and antipathy constitute eloquent testimony upon the vaunted liberty of United States citizenship. There have been many schemes proposed for solving the Negro problem, most, however, of an impossible or impracticable nature. Among such proposals have been

such suggestions as the deportation of the twelve million Negroes from the States back to Africa, or the establishment of a separate Negro State. Others are of opinion that the only solution is for the twelve million Negroes to die out or be put away as the American Indian has been put away. Such proposals have done little more than to confuse clear conception and handling of the problem, and have augmented the mutual bitterness existing among the races.

It is admitted that the Negro problem is not of the Negro's making. No group in the United States is less responsible for its existence than the Negroes. It must be remembered that of the immigrants to the States, the Negroes alone came against their will.* They came at the special and compelling invitation of White Americans, and the institution of slavery was introduced, expanded and maintained by the White settlers for their own benefit.†

The general attitude towards the Negro population appears to be a mixed one. But there seems to be a widespread and almost universal aversion to close association based more upon tradition and instinct, than upon reason or upon fact. Thus it is a fairly general notion that the Negro is physically a beast; that he is endowed with poor intellect, and a defective sense of private morals; that rape, murder, larceny and crime in general, come more naturally to him than to the average White American. For these reasons segregation of the Negro is essential, if the safety and purity of the White race is to be maintained. An analysis of the evidence from the courts, the universities, and from industrial centres go to show that while physically the Negro is superior to the average White American, intellectually or morally there is little to choose. The prejudices and notions against the Negro are based more upon hearsay than upon fact or actual instance. This was conclusively shown in the thorough investigation conducted into the Negro problem in 1920 by the Chicago Commission on Racial Relations.

* *The Negro in Chicago* (Report of the Chicago Commission on Racial Relations) page xxiii.

† *Ibid.*

The principal excuses for savagery practiced upon the Negro constitute allegations of assault and familiarity with White women. Generally the charge is found to be false.* Several such cases were reported to the Chicago Commission on Race Relations, but not a single one was established. On the contrary there was testimony to the orderliness and good behaviour of the Negro in places of racial contact. A White woman, resident of Hyde Park, one of the better class residential areas, said to the Commission :

"On the street cars, I would rather ride with Negro gentlemen than with many of our so-called White gentlemen. A Negro man who has the slightest training is courteous and genuinely so. My children use the street car every day to go to the Hyde Park High School, and it's not the Negro man on the street cars I hate to think of, it's the cheap White men."†

In the matter of street cars, where contact is unavoidable, not a single case of attempted familiarity by Negroes was reported to the Commission, whereas many cases were reported of attempted familiarity by White men with Negro women.

The horror with which unions between Negro and White are regarded is mainly confined to unions in which the male is a Negro. Lynching is the penalty that public opinion provides for such cases, but thousands upon thousands of babies, born every year, speak of the hours of delight spent by Uncle Sam in the beds of Negro women. Says Dr. Edith Hooker :

"Throughout America, the mulatto bears silent testimony to the fact that the White man, who anathematizes the coloured woman, and who refuses her the right of marriage with his own race, is not too proud to have sex relations with her and to give his son the dark skin which he scorns."‡

While in White centres of amusement, the Negro is generally excluded, and where admitted subjected to humili-

**The Negro in Chicago* (Report of the Chicago Commission on Race Relations) page 307.

†*Ibid.*

‡*The Laws of Sex*, Richard Badger, Boston, page 178.

tion, both White men and White women appear to take particular pleasure in the contact with the Negro. In Negro centres of amusement White men dancing with black women and White women in the embrace of the Negro is a common, everyday occurrence. The reason of this apparent contradiction in American life is explained in a subsequent Chapter (*vide Chapter XII*).

Technically speaking, the legal status of Negroes in most States is the same as that of White citizens. Federal and State Courts are generally in accord, in holding Negro men and women to be citizens of the United States and of the American Commonwealth, and entitled to be protected by the laws against discrimination or oppression on account of their race or colour. But in practice, oppression and discrimination are matters of common knowledge. Negroes are excluded from churches and places of amusement, such as restaurants and theatres. They are publicly humiliated and savagely attacked on the slightest pretext, real or imaginary.

The feelings of a Negro when he is humiliated, or hunted by a mob are perhaps difficult of precise description. But the Chicago Commission quote the statement of a Negro University student who was a victim to, what they describe as, the "sporadic brutality of a gang of white men." The student, it might be added, escaped eventually, after being hunted for five hours and a half in an unfriendly neighbourhood :

"Then the injustice of the whole thing overwhelmed me—emotions ran riot. Had the ten months I spent in France been all in vain? Were those little white crosses over the dead bodies of those dark-skinned boys lying in Flanders fields for naught? Was democracy merely a hollow sentiment? What had I done to deserve such treatment? I lay there experiencing all the emotions I imagined the innocent victim of a southern mob must feel when being hunted for some supposed crime. Was this what I had given up my Canadian citizenship for, to become an American citizen and a soldier? Was the risk of life in a country where such hatred existed worth while? Must

*a Negro always suffer merely because of the colour of his skin? 'There's a Nigger; let's get him.' These words rang in my ears—I shall never forget them."**

When the War of Democracy, the War to save Civilization was being waged, Uncle Sam sent over his black and tan boys to fight for the Liberty of Nations. If Uncle Sam won the War, as he would have us believe, well, a fair share of credit must go to his black and tan battalions. The War ended in the autumn of 1918. Back came the lads, with flying colours and triumphant bands—the world had been saved—saved from the Huns, saved from the barbarians of Prussia, the barbarians who killed innocent women and the babes that suckled—back came the lads, the victors of the greatest and most righteous War of History, a War to end blasphemy, tyranny, oppression, a War to free oppressed Nations, a War of Democracy, a War to end War, a War of Liberty, a War to inaugurate a wonderful brotherhood among the races of mankind and to establish abiding peace and goodwill upon earth.

This was, be it remembered, in the autumn of 1918. When the guns in Flanders had hurtled their last missiles of death and destruction on the morning of 11th November 1918, the war-wrecked nations let themselves go in the frenzy and riot of joy. The writer still remembers the day vividly. It was in London, almost mid-day, when the news came through that the Armistice was signed, and the Armageddon, that had claimed a toll of more than ten million victims, was at an end. For a moment creed and race were forgotten in the mad exhilaration of victory. Black men, tan men, Negroes, Japs, Chinese, Lithuanians, Poles, French, English and Americans linked and embraced in the brotherhood of triumph. That night thousands of women gave themselves to the first stranger—it was Victory, it was the advent of the New Era, the Age of Equality, Brotherhood and Prosperity!

**The Negro in Chicago, (Supra) page 483.*

A war-stained world turned its eyes across the Atlantic. America loomed out from the haze of War as the Saviour of the Race. President Wilson came to Europe to settle the Peace, to temper Victory with Mercy, and to establish the New Order promised in Fourteen Points.

But, the illusion is now a matter of history. The Victors of the War lost the Peace. Every sentiment, every declared aim, everyone of the Fourteen Points was in the spirit broken. The Treaty signed at Versailles marked the funeral of the high ideals of the War and announced the advent of the low ideals of the Peace. The League of Nations became the League of Humbugs.

But before the Peace could even be signed, while President Wilson was sitting in judgment upon German atrocities, a Negro was publicly roasted. Within a month of the United States' Emissaries putting their signatures to what was described at the time as the Charter of Subject Races, Chicago was engaged in one of the wildest Negro hunts in history. The photographs published elsewhere show how the American people ratified this charter. Between August 1918 and August 1919, the period of idealism, five Negro women were lynched.* Women—please—by these gentlemen of the world!

It is unnecessary to enter into all the aspects of the humiliation and brutalities inflicted upon Negroes in the United States. Some instances of the brutality have already been cited and though the list could be considerably enlarged, the instances quoted are ample to indicate the revolting horror of such cases.

I have already cited from the Report of the Commission on Race Relations showing that the average Negro does not seek contact and familiarity with White women. There is, however, a distinct notion that the Negro is a beast, a rapist and sodomist by instinct and that his standard of sexual morality is inferior to that of the average White American. In this

**The Negro in Chicago, (Supra) page 582.*

connection the evidence to the contrary is both authoritative and conclusive :*

JUDGE HUGO PAM : You talk about sex cases. Whether you call them rape cases or crimes against children, I have more serious rape cases against white than I have against coloured people. The most serious case I had was about ten days ago, and I sentenced the man to life imprisonment. I never had such a case involving a Negro.

JUDGE CHARLES N. THOMPSON : In my work with the criminal court I was astounded at the large number of crimes involving the sexual abuse of children, but I remember no case in which a coloured defendant was charged with that crime. Almost all other races were represented, but I don't remember one coloured man charged with the abuse of a child I tried many of those cases, but never tried a coloured man for that offence.

An analysis of the cases in New York Court of General Sessions by the Congressional Committee on Immigration showed that race cases amounted to 3.1 and of these only .5 were cases in which Negroes were involved, that is, there was only one case of rape by a Negro to five cases by White Americans.†

Both traditions, that Negroes are rapists by nature and sexual abnormals, are classed by the Commission as myths :

"WAUKEGAN RIOT.—A story with the implication that a sex issue was involved was the significant feature of the riot between marines from the Great Lake Naval Training Station, aided by citizens of Waukegan, and the Negro residents of Waukegan. It is entirely likely that the outburst was wholly precipitated by the entirely false report that 'Mrs. Blazier, the wife of Lieutenant Blazier' was 'attacked' by Negro boys. Lieutenant Blazier, it developed, was unmarried and had no woman occupant in the car.

*The Negro in Chicago, (Supra) page 347.
†1911.

" CHICAGO RIOT.—The most atrocious murder of the Chicago riot of 1919 was precipitated by a report involving an Italian girl. The story was circulated that she had been killed by a Negro. Joseph Lovings, an innocent Negro, chanced into the neighbourhood on a bicycle. He was set upon and murdered. The coroner found fourteen bullet wounds, many stab wounds, contusion of the head and fractures of the skull bones and of the limbs. The report proved a myth, for no girl was killed by anyone during the riot. The Negro killed was innocent of any injury, and if a girl was injured it had not been learned by whom the injury was inflicted."

Upon this question judicial testimony is valuable. The opinion of two judges has already been quoted, and what Judges Hugo Pam and Charles M. Thompson have stated is corroborated by Judge K. Scanlan, also of the Criminal Court :

" *I do not think Negroes are more liable to sex crimes than whites. I tried a coloured man six or eight years ago for a rape. He founded an alleged orphan asylum. The evidence showed that he had held a number of young children in that place. He got life in the penitentiary. He was the only coloured man ever tried before me with any offence of that character. The children in that case were coloured children. But I have tried a number of white men for rape, and while I have had ten or a dozen cases of crimes against children, in my twelve years' experience on the bench, I have never had a case of a coloured man charged with crime against children.*"*

As to prostitution, Judge Wells N. Cook, of the Chicago Municipal Court, states :

" *Prostitution among the white people in Chicago in 1918 was more or less clandestine, in flats and cheap hotels and in private homes, and more or less under cover. The coloured people, living largely in one section of the city, and being naturally of a social, emotional temperament, are apt to congregate in places and in resorts where the police could more easily raid them, and are much more easily apprehended. That is about the only reason I can*

**The Negro in Chicago, (Supra) page 347.*

see for the disproportionate number of coloured defendants brought into the morals court. It is not that there is any greater percentage of immorality? Prostitution among whites is more clandestine."*

Upon cases of theft Judge Wells N. Cook's evidence is equally authoritative and in favour of the Negro :

" I think there is a great deal of nonsense in the talk about the coloured man being more apt to steal than the white man. I think that it is largely a question of environment and training. He is not more inclined, in my judgment, to tell a lie or steal than a white man."†

Judge Charles M. Thompson is more emphatic and states he had more cases of larceny and more in proportion to population by whites than Negroes.‡

Sometimes it is alleged that the large volume of organised crime, which is a feature of American life, originates in Negro settlements. This opinion is not well founded. According to Dr. Herman Alder, Illinois' State Criminologist :

" You asked a question in regard to gangs—whether there is a combination among Negroes. There are not many. They are more individual, but on the other hand the lowest grade of Negroes are likely to be tools of the others at times; they have been used that way. Where you are dealing with murder, with sex crimes, with certain forms of burglary, larceny, you are usually dealing with individual criminals.

" Now there is here, in Chicago, professional organised crime. The coloured people as a whole are less engaged in professional crime and they are more the accidental, casual criminal or the low-grade person with a strong temper and a strong physique, etc., who slip into crime by following the line of least resistance."§

**The Negro in Chicago*, page 347.

†*Ibid*, page 348.

‡*The Negro in Chicago*, (Supra) page 348.

§*Ibid*, page 346.

So Major L. M. C. Funkhouser—

“ Negro criminals are not organised.”†*

Also Professor Charles E. Merriam—

“ My belief is that the Negro criminals are not so well organised as the White. They don't go much in bands; furthermore, they are not so much in the class of professional criminals as they are in the class of occasional criminals. It seems to me that the coloured offender is the individual offender; his crimes are more of haste or passion. He is in the occasional offender class.”†

In the opinion of the police also, Negroes, as a whole, do not work in gangs. The Negro criminal is more frequently individual than as a member of a gang. According to a former Chief of Police (General Leory T. Steward)—

“ I think, generally speaking, that Negro criminals work as individuals. I only recall one instance where there was a gang of coloured men that came to my attention, but I know of many white gangs.”†

Compare the record of individual crime by Negroes with “organised” bombing of Negro homes and houses of real estate men. From July 1st, 1917 to March 1st, 1921 the Negro housing problem in Chicago was marked by fifty-eight bomb explosions. Two persons, both Negroes, were killed, a number of white and coloured persons were injured, and the damage to property amounted to more than \$100,000. Of these fifty-eight bombs, thirty-two were exploded within the square bounded by Forty-first and Sixtieth Streets, Cottage Grove Avenue and State Street. The average of these outrages was one race bombing every twenty days and, excepting two men bound down, not a single person was arrested or punished.

The persons directing these bombings did not limit their intimidations to Negro residents in white neighbourhoods; residences of Negroes and white real estate men were bombed

**The Negro in Chicago*, page 346.

†*Ibid.*

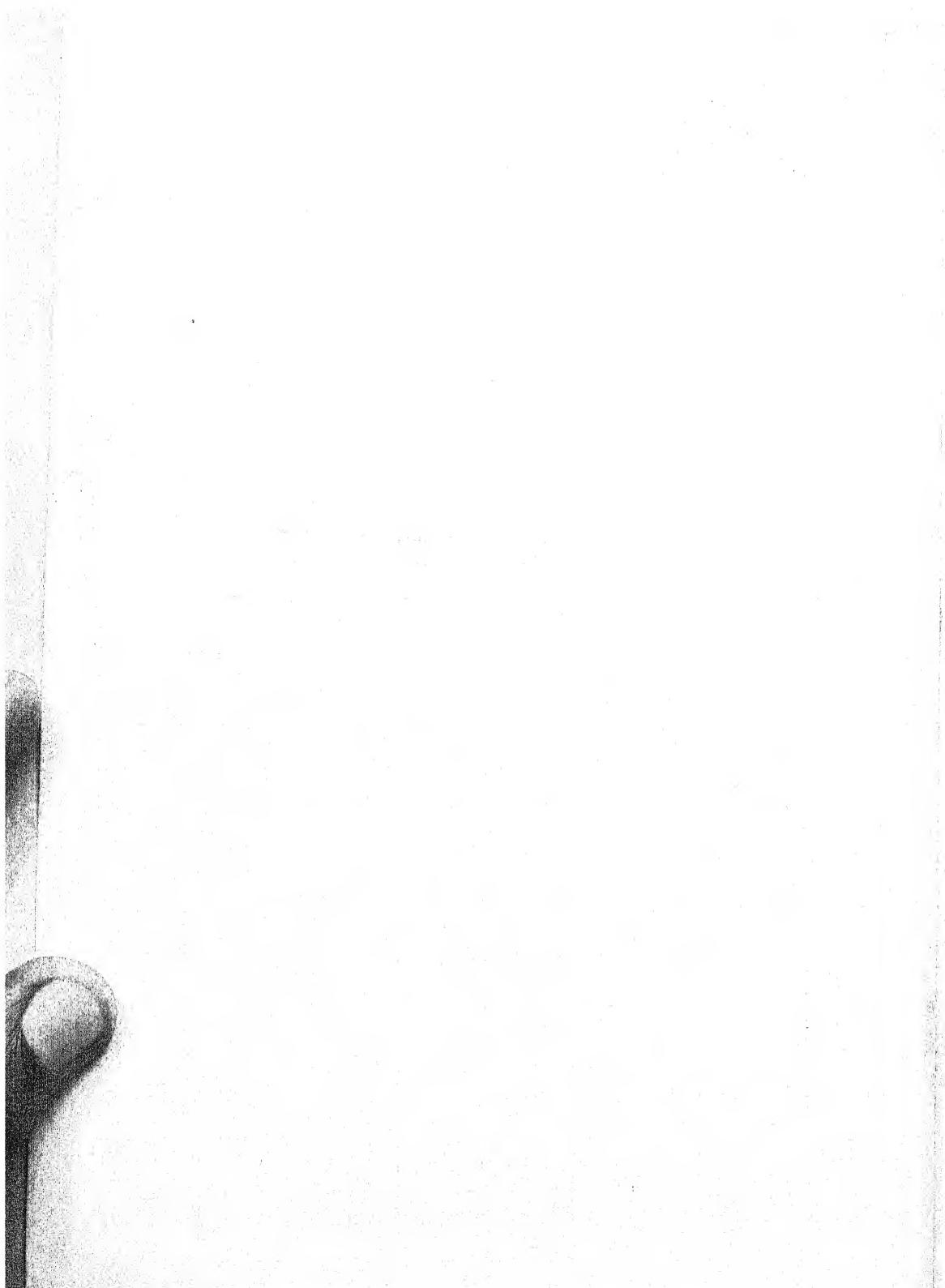
‡*Ibid.*



N. I. C.

CHICAGO REFUGEES.

"Between August 1918 and August 1919, the period of idealism, five Negro Women were lynched. Women--please--by Uncle Sam, the Gentleman."



THE NEGRO.

because they had sold or rented property in these exclusive areas to Negroes, and Negro bankers' houses were bombed because they made loans on Negro property and supported their mortgages.

The circumstances of the bombings were investigated by the Chicago Commission and details of what happened in several typical cases may be cited:

BOMBING OF THE MOTLEY HOME.—*In 1913 S. P. Motley, Negro, and his wife purchased a building at 5230 Maryland Avenue through a white agent, and on March 15, 1913, the family moved in. For four years they lived there without molestation save the silent resentment of neighbours and open objection to the presence of Negro children in the streets. On July 1, 1917, without warning or threat, a bomb was exploded in the vestibule of the house, and the front of the building was blown away. The damage amounted to \$1,000. Police arrived from the station at Fifty-second Street and Lake Park Avenue ten minutes after the explosion. No clues were found and no arrests were made. The original owner of the building was bitterly opposed to Negroes and was a member of an organization which was seeking to keep Negroes out of the district.*

Sometime after this incident it was rumoured that Motley was planning to purchase the building adjacent. At 4 a.m. June 4, 1919, a dynamite bomb was exploded under the front of the house adjacent and tore up its stone front. The neighbours were in the street immediately after the explosion. No clues were found and no arrests were made. The Motley family on this occasion was accused of inviting another Negro family into the block. The new family in question negotiated for its own property, and before an actual settlement had been made, received numerous telephone messages and threats. It moved in, but was not bombed.

BOMBING OF FOX'S HOME.—*Moses Fox, white, connected with a "Loop" real estate firm, lived at 442 East Forty-fifth Street. The house was too large and he decided to move to smaller quarters. The building was sold through a real estate firm to persons whom he did not*

UNCLE SHAM.

know. On March 10, 1920, a few days after the sale, he received a telephone call informing him that he must suffer the consequences of selling his home to Negroes. At 7-30 that evening an automobile was seen to drive slowly past his home three times, stopping each time just east of the building. On the last trip a man alighted, and deposited a longfuse bomb in the vestibule. The fuse smoked for four minutes. Attracted by the smoke, Fox ran toward the front of the house. The bomb exploded before he reached the door. It was loaded with dynamite and contained slugs which penetrated the windows of the building across the street. The evening selected for the bombing was the one on which Patrolman Edward Ownes, Negro, was off duty and a white policeman was patrolling his beat. The bombing was witnessed by Dan Jones, a Negro janitor, and Mrs. Florence De Lavalade, a Negro tenant. The front of the building was wrecked and all the windows shattered. Damage amounting to \$1,000 was done. No arrests were made.

BOMBING OF JESSE BINGA'S PROPERTIES.—Jesse Binga is a Negro banker and real estate man. His bank is at 3633 State Street, his real estate office at 4724 State Street, and his home at 5922 South Park Avenue. He controls more than \$500,000 worth of property and through his bank has made loans on Negro property and taken over the mortgages of Negroes refused by other banks and loan agencies.

On November 12, 1919, an automobile rolled by his reality office and a bomb was tossed from it. It left the office in ruins. The police were soon on the scene, but the car was well beyond reach by the time of their arrival. No clues to the members were found, and no arrests were made. It was the opinion of the police that white residents of the Hyde Park district resented Binga's handling of Negro property in that district.

Twenty-one days later an automobile drew up in front of Binga's home at 5922 South Park Avenue, and its occupants put a bomb under the front steps. It failed to explode. When the fireman arrived they found it sizzling in the slush beneath the porch. The police declared that this was an expression of racial feeling.

Twenty-five days later the bombers reappeared and left a third bomb. It tore up the porch of Binga's home. Again the police found that the explosion had been caused by "racial feelings," white men having said that "Binga rented too many flats to Negroes in high-class residence districts." The house was repaired and police provided to guard the house. At twelve o'clock the guard left a few minutes early, and the policeman relieving him was just a few minutes late. In this unguarded interval an automobile swung around the corner, and as it passed the Binga home a man leaned out and tossed a bomb into the yard. The bomb lit in a puddle of water and the fuse went out. It was found that the bomb had been made of black powder, manila paper and cotton. The explanation of the attempt was that "his \$30,000 home is in a white neighbourhood."

A police guard was still watching the house on the night of June 18, 1920, when the bombing car appeared again. On this occasion neither policeman was in sight when the car drew up. A man alighted this time and carefully placed the bomb. The explosion damaged the home to the extent of \$4,000. Binga offered a reward of \$1,000 for the apprehension of those guilty of these repeated acts of lawlessness.

On November 23, Binga was bombed again. This time the bomb damaged his neighbours more seriously than it did Binga's property. No clues were found and no one was arrested.*

In all these cases, and many others, of organized outrage upon Negro homes, only two men were apprehended on suspicion, and let off on bond. "Yet" says Judge Scanlan, "juries will convict a coloured man with less hesitation than they will convict a white man on the same evidence.† Judge G. Kersten is of opinion that "it is easier on similar facts and circumstances in evidence to convict a coloured defendant than a white one.‡ In the race riots the police arrested almost

**The Negro in Chicago*, page 124 et. seq.

†*The Negro in Chicago*, page 353.

‡*Ibid*, page 353.

UNCLE SHAM.

exclusively Negroes and practically no white man.* "Generally speaking" says Judge Scanlan, "Negroes are more likely to be arrested than white persons."†

These facts were considered proved by the Chicago Commission, who summarised their findings as follows:

"Much information was secured from conference with numerous authorities on crime; judges of the juvenile, municipal, circuit, superior and criminal courts; the general superintendent of police and police captains, former high police officials; heads of correctional and penal institutions; the state's attorney; experts on probation and parole, representatives from the sheriff's office; and social workers having intimate knowledge of crime conditions.

The views of those authorities are an important aid in giving proper interpretation to the factors which cause crime among Negroes, and to the circumstances connected with crime prejudicial to Negroes as compared with whites. For example, the testimony is practically unanimous that Negroes are much more liable to arrest than whites, since police officers share in the general public opinion that Negroes "are more criminal than whites," and also feel that there is little risk of trouble in arresting Negroes, while greater care must be exercised in arresting whites.

The Negro crime rate is exaggerated quite as much by the fewer arrests of whites than Negroes, in comparison with the number of crimes committed, as by the ease with which many Negroes may be arrested for one crime. We have already noted the remarkable discrepancy between the police reports of crimes committed and the actual crimes listed by the Crime Commission. Fewer Negroes than whites escape arrests and convictions. Unless proper explanations of the statistics are made, there is presented an exaggerated picture of Negro crime."‡

The Negro Problem is one commentary on Uncle Sam's democracy. There are others, and for these the next chapter is reserved.

**The Negro in Chicago*, page 351.

†*Ibid.*

‡*Ibid.* page 345.



The Liberty Statue Remodelled.

—*The Daily Express* (London)

CHAPTER VI.

THE DAMN LIE.

“ The Great War,” according to Rev. James L. Gordon of the first Congregational Church of San Francisco, “ was humanity’s battle for humanity. That human liberty might be preserved ! That universal freedom might be safeguarded ! That Christianity might survive ! That the world’s last and best civilization should not break down.”

The object of the Great War to secure the permanency and promotion of human liberty and universal freedom, as aforesaid by the Rev. James Gordon, was not confined to American Negroes. The same earnestness and Christian charity is apparent in other spheres of American life.

A superstitious veneration alongside the open defiance of the legal and administrative machinery is the amazing complex of the psychology of the average American. As T. Colyer says “ Throughout the civilized world, of course, the

maxim holds true that there is one law for the rich and another for the poor, but nowhere is human welfare so brutally, consistently and openly sacrificed on the altar of private gain as in the courts of the United States." This is well-known because in criminal cases the State employs police detectives to investigate the opinions of the jury and uses the information so gained to exclude mercilessly all whom it deems in the least likely to strain a point in favour of the poor devil in the dock. In civil cases the side which has most money hires private detectives, whose reports practically enable it to obtain the sort of jury it wants. These facts alone go far to explain the astounding verdicts returned against radicals in the American courts; the juries in such cases are always packed.*

The arts of jury-packing are never resorted to by Governments which intend that the proceedings of their courts shall be fair in other respects; and many a performance that goes by the name of a trial in the United States appears to the foreigner either as a joke or an outrage, according to the seriousness of the issues at stake. To begin with, both the investigation and prosecution of criminals (except for federal offences) are in each district in charge of one official, who is known as the district attorney. This individual is elected along with other State and country officers, and it is his duty not merely to act as the State's advocate in the courts in his territory, but also to conduct a general inquiry into the activities of suspected persons, to summon witnesses for preliminary examination, and to institute proceedings for the indictment and arrest of offenders. By the time any case of his gets into court a district attorney has acquired an urgent personal interest in securing a conviction, for to the natural desire of a lawyer to make the best of his side of the argument there is added the necessity of vindicating the efficiency of his office as a detective agency.†

Thus it comes about that the State's cases are pressed in America much more unscrupulously than British public opinion

**Americanism a World Menace*, Labour Publishing Company, Limited, page 53.

†*Ibid.* page 54.

would tolerate. The attitude of the average district attorney is well expressed in a statement made on January 16th, 1922, by a District Attorney at Los Angeles, California, after a jury disagreement over a murder charge against one Arthur C. Burch: "I am going to keep after Burch till I get him."*

Each State has its own methods of securing the conviction of apprehended offenders. In Louisiana:

"Because a juryman failed to agree to a verdict of guilty in the case of Alvin Calhoun, a Negro accused of murder, a mob took the juror from the jury-room, whipped him, and dipped him in a mud-hole. After this chastisement he returned to the jury-room and agreed to a verdict of murder in the first degree."†

The power of district attorneys is not, it need hardly be added, entirely and invariably used in the discharge of purely public duties. Attorneyship is a party prize post, a stepping-stone to State Senatorship or even Governorship. With ample opportunities of blackmail, favouritism and partiality, the post of State attorney brings good money to the law officers of the American Commonwealth.

Propagandists, paid or ignorant, of Americanism assume that liberty is the cornerstone of American life and institutions. What with Liberty Statutes, Liberty Motors, Liberty Bonds and Liberty Bells, the paid propagandist and the ignorant find it simple to fool millions into confusing and believing that the Liberty stunts, the Declarations of Independence, and the puritanical demagogery of Baptist preachers constitute democracy and a Christian civilization. Democracy is in truth both sacred and unreal to the average American, who firmly believes that it is quite possible for him to be John the Baptist and John D. Rockefeller at one and the same time. Though Democracy and Christianity share little in the actualities and realities of American life, yet the American will sentimentalize over his country, his institutions and the god that he keeps in

*Americanism a World Menace, (Supra) page 54.

†Americana 1925, (Martin Hopkinson, London) page 97.

his safe rather than in his heart, he will shoot you down if you question his beliefs; in fact, he will do everything for his beliefs except act up to them.

The true nature of American liberty can be recognised from the extraordinary laws, the pedantic interference with private life, and the inordinate severity for minor offences and the extraordinary lenience and indulgence to major crimes. Thus theft may be punished by imprisonment for 60 years, while murder by simple imprisonment.

Governor Horace F. Graham convicted for larceny of State Funds was released on the day he was sentenced to eight years' imprisonment, but George L. Patric of Seattle, Washington, was kept in prison for 200 days, for saying "To h— with Coolidge; it's only an accident that he is President." In Okmulgee in 1925 T. H. Harvey an oil fields' worker was arrested and fined \$10 for walking down the street with a "questionable woman." In Texas it is considered immoral to wear spats or to dress for dinner, but it is inhabited by he-men,* and women who sleep with Satan. In Tennessee it is an offence to teach the subject of Evolution in the schools, such scientific heresies being prohibited by State law. In Kansas there is a rule that if a child in school refuses to repeat the flag pledge, its parents may be arrested and whipped. The *Washington Post* recently reported the progress of American jurisprudence :

"Police early to-day raided the premises of 345 Pennsylvania Avenue North-west and arrested fifteen Chinamen on charges of playing mahjong."

In Connecticut, a girl was lately arrested and charged with "being in danger of falling into vice." A City Ordinance in Los Angeles forbids bathing two babies in a single bath tub at one time, and yet according to the *San Francisco Examiner* scores of girls may be found between the ages of 14

*Men who drink their whiskey neat.

and 15 "stupefied with liquor," "helpless" and "unable to resist the attentions of the men." The police, however, control morality in Minnesota where amorous motorists are not permitted "side-curtains unless it is raining." In Miami Florida there is no such rule. Here amorous lovers are not only permitted to use side-curtains but also one another's pillows. In Alabama there is the law that no games are to be played on Sunday and *dominoes* are expressly mentioned. But Negroes may be lynched any day of the week in this fundamental State. In most States, prostitution is no offence, but living together of unmarried couples is a crime. There have been prosecutions for this offence but rarely a case from the upper ten of American society. If a man is rich enough to keep a woman, or what is perhaps more frequent, in America, a woman is rich enough to keep a man, the policeman and the district attorney will, if it is made worth their while, allow true love to run its course.

American physicians are by law forbidden to give patients who want to limit the size of their family, any information as to contraceptive measures. Not merely publication, but the giving of information in the privacy of a consulting room, is illegal. The law is flouted in the interests of the well-to-do, but parents, who need it most, are to a large extent prevented from obtaining advice on this subject. Every now and then traps are laid for doctors, nurses, and others and any one who is caught is punished. As a consequence of this state of affairs, the practice of abortion is painfully common in the United States.

Individual States have individual conceptions of liberty. "New York," says H. L. Menken, Editor, *American Mercury*, "pays little heed to the laws of the United States—it is immensely rich and devoted to pleasure. There are more harlots in New York than in the whole of Spain. Many of its bootleggers are millionaires. New York is the capital of Satan, and no woman there is a strictly A 1 virgin,"* and yet, on the

**Americana* (Martin Hopkinson, London), page 295.

UNCLE SHAM.

contrary, in New York it is a punishable offence to discuss even the weaknesses of the Constitution of the United States. Nevada, where the divorce laws are generous, swarms with members of the divorce colony occupying themselves by playing golf and practising adultery. Kansas which "grows the best wheat in the world" is strongly religious, and hence very wet. Of course, it favours Prohibition. In Indiana inspite of an incredibly drastic State law for the enforcement of temperance, ample whiskey is sold. West Virginia is a mining centre. When miners go on strike "they are murdered by the police. Sometimes their women and children are butchered with them."*

"The Government of the United States," says the Hon. Cameron Morrison of North Carolina, "and the constitutional principles of representative Government upon which our fabric of free government rests is the final and ultimate truth about government on the earth."

If the facts stated in this and the foregoing chapters are correct, as they undoubtedly are, it is difficult to comprehend the enthusiasm of the Hon. Cameron Morrison.

It is unnecessary to question, in any detail, the veracity of Mr. Morrison, or to ask upon what evidence he makes his remarkable discovery. We have already had some indication as to the "final and ultimate truth" and of the "fabric of free government," but it is worthy of note that within a few days of Mr. Morrison's panegyric on United States' Government, the *Missouri Times* published a brilliant example of the final and ultimate truth of free government:

"William Lashley a Negro was reported by the police yesterday to have admitted shooting Lieut. Sidney E. Sears of the Police force. It now appears that Lashley made this 'confession' after he had been knocked unconscious with a gun butt, had his jaw broken, three ribs fractured, and had been kicked in the face and stomach

**Americana* (Martin Hopkinson, London), page 295.

THE DAMN LIE.

and otherwise man-handled. After all these things were done to him, he says, he was asked about the shooting.

Shorn of Yankee bluff and French Exchequer boom, American constitutional institutions, on a review of the facts revealed, may be summed up as follows :

(1) State Legislatures do not enjoy the confidence of the people, as is shown by the restrictions imposed upon them.

(2) The primary aims and ideals of the founders of the Constitution, *viz.*, the liberty of the subject and the sovereignty of the people, have been ruthlessly travestied. All departments, both Federal and State are run by party machines, which have proved inefficient, corrupt and incompetent. In practice there is very little individual liberty conceived or safeguarded.

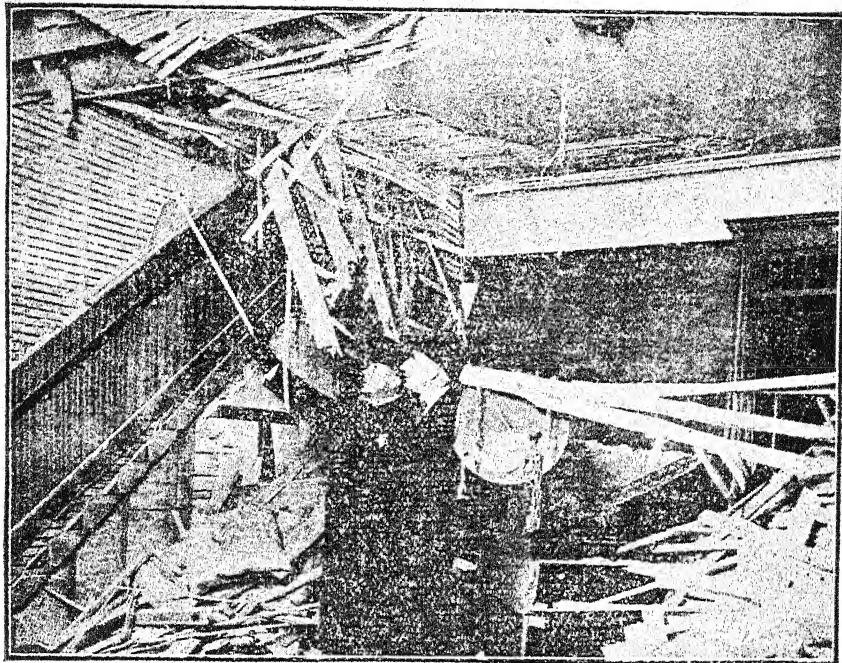
(3) The Executive and the Judiciary are not above party bias and private inducement.

(4) A general lack of respect for the law and the agencies of law enforcement.

It is unnecessary here to enumerate very elaborately the causes of the failure of America to attain the standard required of democratic theory. It may be that the want of respect of the legislature is due to the fact that few of them are composed of men of superior intelligence; it may be that the mediocrity of most state judges and the system of short terms and low salaries is responsible for the scandals in the administration of justice; it may equally be that the corruption of the civil service is due in part to the recruitment without regard to competence; it may be that the best men, the most endowed with intellect, ability and integrity do not enter the political arena; but when everything is considered, there is something more than these superficial reasons to explain the utter collapse of moral principles in the public and civic life of the United States. Perhaps, after all, Alexander Hamilton was not far wrong.

Some years ago, as the *Aquitania* was steaming into New York Harbour, an Englishman and an American were watching the giant sky-scrappers grow as the great ship moved in. The Englishman's knowledge was averagely limited. "What's that" he asked, pointing to the Liberty Statute. "Well" said the American, "if you want the truth, that is the Damn Lie they have put up in our harbour

Between Alexander Hamilton and the American on board the *Aquitania*, we come somewhere near the truth.



N. I. C.

CHICAGO RACE RIOTS.

Federal officers examining damage by bomb to a Negro home.





CHAPTER VII. THE VIRGIN.

The Eve of to-day bears a close resemblance to Adam. She is masculine in her strength, she goes to the barber and uses a Gillette, she has no use for howling brats, she attends office and receives a cheque on pay day, which buys her smokes and pays for her nocturnal pleasures. She is the idol of the tabloid press but the curse of this age.

This may be old-fashioned, but ninety-nine out of every hundred men are old-fashioned, if old-fashioned signifies the type of women whom our fathers loved and who became our

mothers. Perhaps their dresses were a little cumbersome but their hearts were of gold. I say ninety-nine out of a hundred men to-day prefer the type of their mothers to the adulterous Loreleis of the third decade of this Century. For the cigarette-smoking, neurotic, artificial, naked vamps of to-day the average man has a secret but profound contempt.

The perfect woman has never been revealed, but the good mother is as near perfection as is possible. In her strength, in her understanding, in her sympathy, in her intelligence, in the cheering effect of her personality, she is the builder of the race and the fortunes of national life. This is the viewpoint of every sensible man.

The aim of sound civic consciousness should be the promotion of the strength that is the glory of woman, the strength that is beauty, that is fitness for race preservation and race procreation. The growing and decaying, in fact all nations of the world cry out for vigorous motherhood. Weak, anaemic mothers cannot produce an A 1 generation, nor can corrupted daughters advance the realisation of the ultimate beauty which is the glory of their sex.

Miss America is the modern Eve, par excellence, impertinent, seductive, passionate. Any one can have a look at the likes of her for the price of twenty-five cents. Magazines and pictorial journals all over the United States never fail to include portraits of Miss America. You will see her nestling in the arms of John Barrymore, driving an eight-cylinder roadster, powdering her nose while crossing Fifth Avenue, bathing in daring camouflage, sleeping with the elevator boy, smoking perfumed cigarettes or marrying a titled bankrupt of Europe. You may see her sitting in a marble bath worthy of a Roman Empress, or in her boudoir, done in emerald green, where bottles of perfume alternate with jars of cosmetics, and mirrors reflect the secret of beauty's laboratory. You may see her any day in the 20th Century Limited, or any of the mammoth Expresses that speed across the American Continent, a perfect darling, who carries a contraceptive with her lip-stick,

and has a lover at her beck and call, whose seductive body is accessible to any sort of voluptuous pleasure, and whose soul is studded with Tiffany's gems.

Of all religions, Christianity has most sanctified the Virgin. Thousands of fair women, all over Christendom, every year take the vow and veil of life-long celibacy, following in the footsteps of the Immaculate Mother of God. In few countries is Christianity so extensively advertised or subscribed for as in the United States. And yet, Uncle Sam leaves few virgins unravished. In fairness to Uncle Sam it should be added that the fault is not always his.

Paris and New York are two great sources of current fashion. Paris sets the vogue in wide fronts and abbreviated skirts, New York in wide consummation and abbreviated morals.

The age of consent is a legal fiction, the age of desire is a biological fact. The age of desire comes to the average girl much before she may legally consent. It is admitted that while a boy of fourteen of the United States gets ample pleasure in hunting foxes and shooting sparrows, his sister of twelve is interested in sport of a different sort. In certain races puberty and precocity come at an early age, but it appears that in hybrid communities, where races have intermingled, the sex urge opens at an early age and in an emphasised form. The race mixtures that constitute the American nation perhaps account for the very early sex stimulus in American children. As will appear from the sequel the American girl begins to think of marriage and sex at the age of four or five, at twelve she is old enough to know the physiological details of anatomies of her boy friends, by sixteen she has tasted of the delicious mysteries of life, by twenty-five she has had perhaps four or five encounters into the domains of matrimony, at thirty she is sterile, infected, abnormal. This is the sum and substance of the life of an average daughter of Uncle Sam. This summary is borne out by the evidence set forth below.

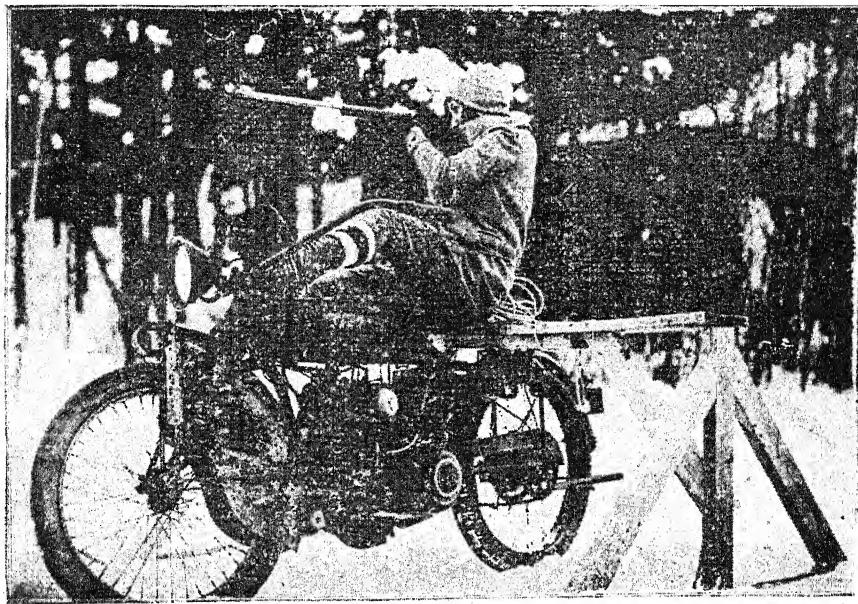
As Dr. Lowry rightly says, passion or sex sense is a sign

of maturity. It is the calling for a mate. All animals have this sense and nearly all animals have a mating season. The billing and cooing of the birds in the spring-time is an expression of this sense—the love sense. It is possessed by every little insect. Only by knowing their habits do we see the expression of it. This sense is nothing of which one should be ashamed. It was God-given for a divine purpose. If taught correctly, the girl should regard the sexual act as the culmination of true love. It should be regarded as something sacred, something that is for her and her husband alone.

Adolescence is the period of life between childhood and maturity. Normally speaking the instincts and desires common to adolescence, namely love, the desire for a mate and home should not be manifest, in any prominence, before about eighteen in girls and about twenty in boys. "But," says an American writer of authority, "so unnatural are the conditions under which the majority of people are living at the present time, that boys and girls in their early teens get the notion that they are in love with each other," and he goes on to say, "The result is most unfortunate, anything may develop a premature sex interest in each other which may have very serious consequences. If nothing worse happens we have the startling elopements and child marriages, and if the course of love fails to run smoothly the tragedy of child suicide."

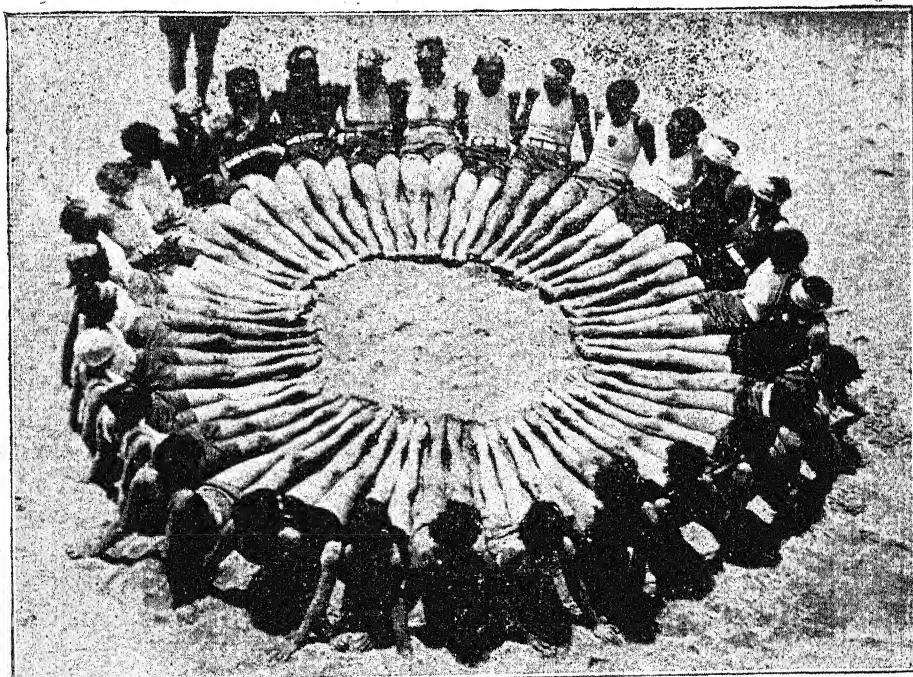
The instincts of puberty and adolescence in most countries develop in the College or University stage. In certain Universities the possibility of a laxity of morals is controlled by the rigours of University discipline, the promotion of sport and healthy outlook on work and play. In America, however, the sex experience comes at a very early age :

"I inquired more particularly. I learned that one could go automobile riding at fifteen; that one could drink freely when one was eighteen; that love-making could begin at any time. Kissing, petting, and other tentative excursions into sex experience, provided that they were not too pronounced, were taken for granted by this sweet-faced girl as part of what she might properly look forward to



MISS AMERICA.

"Miss America is the Modern Eve per excellence, impudent, seductive, passionate."



THE CHARMED CIRCLE.

Says Dr. Lowry: "One who has not been thrown in close contact with the girls of this age cannot realise the extent of immorality among them. Formerly it was considered that only boys sowed their wild oats. Now we find many girls do so also."

long before she would be eighteen—if she could manage not to get found out. Such was her code, and such was the code of her friends and inmates.”*

It is difficult to say at what precise age the average American girl matures, but it is generally admitted that physical maturing is much earlier in America than in Europe, and that girls who mature early are the most likely to get into sexual trouble with boys. If Denver represents America, over 91 per cent mature before the age of 13 and 81 per cent between 11 and 13, that is to say, as many as 19 per cent mature before the age of 11.†

This also appears from the large number of cases of sexual intercourse among children. “It is not very unusual even among the most cultivated and wealthy families,” says Dr. Edith Hooker, “for little ones of seven and eight to have lovers of about their own age with whom they have sexual intercourse sometimes in the presence of others.”‡

“A little girl of seven years belonging to a most refined family had intercourse with her older brother and with several of his friends. Another such case was that of a group of five children, two girls and three boys, living near one another in an aristocratic neighbourhood, who repeatedly had intercourse with one another and boasted of it to other children. The oldest of these was a boy of ten years. Still another case was that of a girl of nine years, living under apparently very sheltered surroundings, who took a curious pride in having many ‘lovers’.”§

The school girl and the school boy at co-educational institutions, thrown together in an atmosphere of vice, drug and cocktail, indulge in the dissipations that have become now recognised as part of school life. Bernarr Macfadden advising girls, “How to Get Married” says, “In fact what you learn in some of our schools naturally lessons your chance of a real

*Lindsey Revolt of Modern Youth, Brenatno's N. Y., page 25.

†Ibid, page 82.

‡Hooker Laws of Sex, (Badger) page 328.

§Ibid.

dependable husband."** He goes on to write an entire book on the liberal education in the 'love lure' that many girls acquire in their search for a husband. "Most girls fall by the wayside."† Says Bernarr Macfadden, "The whole structure of our civilization depends on the stability of our homes," a stability that is impossible in the circumstances of present day American morals and ethic curriculum.

This book makes a most interesting study, relating in dramatic fashion the episodes of Molly "just an average girl," "reared in an average family," "attending the local school."

The atmosphere in which this average girl of an average family is reared may be gauged from Molly's life. "Mother spoke as calmly of the possibility of having several husbands as of having several new cars," and according to Aunt Winnie, "Why, a woman has one husband this year and a new one next year and she can't be for ever chasing around to find a new husband to match the initials on her linen and silver."‡

One of Molly's first love affairs is with "an imitation man—stealing the love of other men's wives, wanting me not in an honourable way, but planning to wait till I married some decent boy, then he would come around to make me unfaithful."

In the meanwhile, Molly, the average girl of average parents, went to a school which was like most of the other schools for girls. "We would have been alright if we had stuck to the curriculum—but what we learned outside of that was a caution—and a shame Any even half-decent boy would have blushed if he could have heard our opinions of boys, our preferences, and why! Our wild guesses as to which type of boy would make the best husband—and by the best husband we meant in a purely physical way."§

Petting and necking are both American in name, and

**How can I get Married*, Macfadden Publications Inc., New York, page viii.

†*Ibid*, page 21.

‡*Ibid*.

§*Ibid*, pages 70-71.

American in execution. A petting party is a very popular form of mixed party in American schools and Universities. "At these parties," says Molly "there is far more drinking of cocktails, smoking of cigarettes and unhealthy dancing than is good for one."* The girls become "mushy" and "clingy" and usually join the boys under the coverlets. The penultimate stage of the petting sport is necking. "A girl who has well necked is never the same again," says the Editor of the *American Mercury* by way of definition.† According to the same author, petting and necking are both very popular in the co-educational centres.

Among the attractions at petting parties is the game of 'strip poker.' The boys and girls gradually become divested of everything:

"Dale was mixing some sort of drinks that tasted just like a soda fountain drink. But they were far from that. We started to play 'strip poker.' How silly girls can be!"

"At that time I felt that I was about as smart and lively and up-to-date as any girl in the world."

"As a matter of fact I was about as silly, about as careless and about as near tragedy as a girl may be."

"Strip poker is degrading. Olive seemed to have no care whatever and was divested of everything, wearing a Japanese table runner when she had lost her last garment. As for myself, I remember as if it were all in a haze—and I got the idea that Dale was the one man in all the world that I wanted."‡

Need it be added that the final 'kick' in this brilliant American game is in bed?

"Booze is another thing that interests them. No petting party, no road-house toot, no joy ride far from the prying eye of Main Street, is complete unless the boys carry flasks. There are no actual statistics to be had on these matters, but it is very clear in my mind that practically

**How can I get married*, page 172 *et seq.*

†*Americana* 1925, (Martin Hopkinson, London) page 300.

‡*How can I get Married*, (Supra) page 178.

*all the cases where these girls and boys lose their judgment in Folly Lane involve the use of drink.”**

An interesting inquiry into the promiscuity prevalent among students was recently made by the *Carolina Magazine*. The results of a questionnaire answered by the students revealed some startling facts. The average man had affairs with six girls. 87.7 per cent of the girls were necked and about 60 per cent were necked at the first attempt. The results also proved that the same girl went round to several men and was necked by a number of them.†

Virtue is not dear. An hour of virtue may be bought for a box of chocolates or an automobile ride. A glass of ‘ Fiz ’ or two cocktails would pay for a whole night and a new hat for a week-end in the country. The professional is far more expensive than the amateur. In University and school towns the red light districts are closed for reason of the competition of the new girls, who can afford to distribute their favours so cheaply. Says Judge Lindsey :

“ Girls insist on this kind of thing from boys they go with, and are as aggressive, in a subtle way, in their search for such thrills as are the boys themselves.”‡

From the petting parties and souse parties and necking celebrations, which are a common feature of school life very few girls emerge strictly A 1 virgins. Judge Ben Lindsey conservatively estimates that at least 45 per cent of high school girls have had intercourse with men before they leave school and in the years following the proportion is much higher. In America, therefore, it is practically impossible to marry a girl who has not already conferred her favours on other men. Not infrequently her experience of men is pretty wide and general by the time she stands before the altar. The average English girl enters life at eighteen, fresh as the new rose; the average American girl of the same age is according to all authorities the prostitute’s successful rival.

**Revolt of Modern Youth*, (Supra) page 51.

†*Americana* 1925, (Supra) page 179.

‡*Revolt of Modern Youth*, (Supra) page 57.



'Fairyland's not far from Washington Square'

CHAPTER VIII.

FAIRIES.

The American high-school boy has long been known to be the victim of well known sexual evils. Ninety-nine out of a hundred have been or are addicted to masturbation and the hundredth is a liar, according to one authority. Until the advent of the mixed school, the red light district was patronized from the age of fifteen onwards. Now, as we have seen, the high-school girl has driven the professional out of these localities.

Co-educational centres have the evils already referred to. In institutions where the sexes are rigidly separated, another type of sexual evil develops, an evil which one is reluctant to

refer to. Science calls it homo-sexuality—it is the abuse of the sexual relationship among members of the same sex. This evil is widely prevalent in the United States. According to Dr. Hooker, "in segregated schools and colleges, in nurses' training schools and in Divinity schools cases constantly arise where homo-sexual love develops, of permanently inhibiting (among its victims) all interest in the opposite sex."*

The reader will please note—Divinity Schools!

Both boys and girls are interested in sex problems. The vulgar delight in feeding the fancy, in giving exaggerated ideas of these much abused subjects. They are often led from one step to another. Often many of the things done are performed in a spirit of bravado, simply because they do not wish to appear "green."† Such boys or girls are familiarly referred to as Nancy Boys or Fairies. The pastime is common in boys' and in girls' schools.

"Forty-one families—'nice families,' as we call them—were last May thrown into consternation and humiliation by being privately notified by the headmaster of a boys' school that their boys would not be re-entered for another term at his school. 'A fearful condition of immorality,' wrote the headmaster, 'has been unearthed at the school, and in order to set an example to the rest of the boys, every boy concerned will be denied re-entrance to this school.'

"The 'fearful condition of immorality' discovered in the school was, as the head master privately explained, traceable, as it generally is, 'to one boy,' the son of a family of unquestioned standing in its community, and he has involved the other boys'."‡

For the following illustrative cases, we are obliged to the author of the "Laws of Sex":

**Laws of Sex*, (Supra) page 331.

†Dr. Lowry's "Herself" Forbes & Co., Chicago, page 179

‡*Ibid.*

1. Two girls in college with ostensible devotion to each other. They made no special effort at concealment. After graduation the relationship.....broke up and one of the girls entered a convent where she fell in love with a nun and eventually committed suicide. The other married and became the mother of several children.

2. More tragic was the case of a nurse of unusual intelligence and charm who had been educated in the segregated system. She was tall, finely built and good-looking. Her mother, whom she had adored, had died when she was about five years old. At fourteen she was seduced by a woman teacher at a boarding school and for three years lived in this emotion. Then the teacher transferred her affection to another girl leaving her former sweetheart desolate. Upon returning home the girl was expected to undertake the usual social life, but she experienced a great sexual repugnance to men and although she had several proposals of marriage from friends whom she liked in a Platonic manner she could not bring herself to accept anyone and finally resolved to study nursing. Again among members of her own sex her earlier longings returned and she formed an alliance with another nurse in training, also of unusual intellectual and physical attractions. This relationship lasted about six years and was characterized by rather more constancy than usually exists in marriage. At the end of this time she suddenly fell in love with another girl who had no previous knowledge of homo-sexuality, with whom she had secret relations. Her former friend becoming suspicious, she broke off the relationship only to become infatuated a few months later with a third girl, a debutante who also had been previously ignorant. While this relationship was in progress she became enamoured of a young woman of unattractive appearance who also believed herself to be an urning and who had already had several homo-sexual experiences. The affair was discovered, leading to the betrayal of all the others, and the original companion threatened disclosure and prosecution.

3. The third case cited is that of married clergyman, who while ministering to the souls of no doubt equally honest churchgoers was found at the age of fifty to be seducing many boys of tender age. He excused himself

on the ground that he was a natural urning.

4. A schoolmaster of similiar history explained that he could not, when among young boys withstand the temptation. Instead of being lynched as no doubt he deserved, and would have been had he been a Negro, he was allowed to resign his post and take up another teaching position elsewhere.*

Such unions are not rare in the United States. Uni-sexual intimacies are the delight of certain perverted localities. "Women dance together unashamed to the murmuring chorus of "Fairies, fairies."† As a poet explains :

"Fairy land's not far from Washington Square."

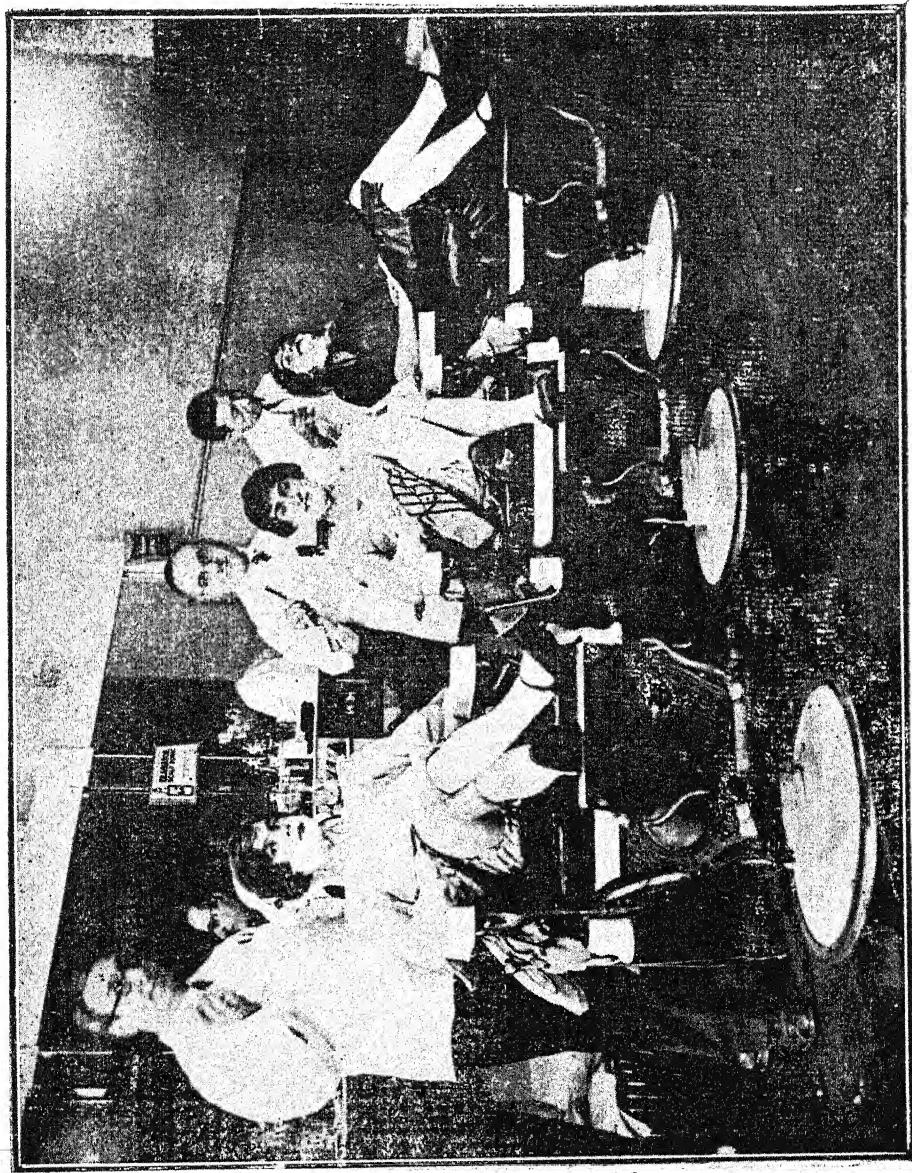
Says Stephen Graham, "This is something not imitated in London, where it may still be a charming compliment to call a girl a fairy."‡

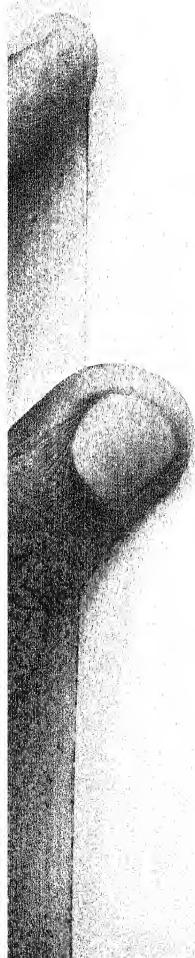
**Laws of Sex*, (Supra) pages 333 to 335.

†*New York Nights*, Ernest Benn Limited, London, page 97.

‡*Ibid.*

THE MODERN EVE.







—DRAWN BY G. PARKER

—“How is your trial marriage coming along?”

—“It ended in a mistrial.”

CHAPTER IX.

THE SOWING.

Sowing wild oats has long been quite the recognized conduct of eligible young men. It has been a pleasing and fashionable expression, a nice way of referring to the booze, sodomy, prostitution and other licentiousness, in which, it is assumed, young men must graduate to become decent specimens of the masculine sex. The idea, apparently, is that through multifarious experiences in drink and sexual intercourse, a man is supposed to acquire the subtle arts of charming the feminine heart. The woman, to whom the graduate in wild oats brings his last devotion is supposed to have the satisfaction that comes from a husband who knows his business and the way to go about it.

But it is not so generally known that the results of the wild oats programme are very different from those anticipated. Young men who sow wild oats, reap a wild harvest—a harvest that others in the family have also to share—the wife, and the children that are to be.

Competent authorities on the matter of health and sex are agreed that the best husbands and fathers are not recruited from the sowers of wild oats. Very few young men can go through the programme of sowing wild oats without being defiled with disease or other results of wild oat sowing.

Instead, therefore, of regulating promiscuous sexual indulgence, as a necessary course in culture, America has extended the privilege, apparently on the principle that good and dutiful wives come from those who have had their fling.

As the term "sowing wild oats" is the social way of referring to the immoralities and degradations indulged in by young men on the threshold of life, "having a good time" is the euphemistic definition of the same things indulged in by the girls of to-day. There is no doubt that while wild oats are being sown, the girls do have a good time—appropriate expressions to be sure!

The "wild oats" phrase is not a new one. "Having a good time" is comparatively recent—the girls of 1913 and 1914 knew little of this good time. It is Miss America's contribution to the lexicon:

*"One who has not been thrown in close contact with the girls of this age cannot realize the extent of the immorality among them. Formerly it was considered that only boys sowed their wild oats. Now we find that many girls do so also. We hear very little about it except for the occasional case of one who has to suffer for her sins. Usually this one is of the most innocent."**

Judge Lindsey corroborates this:

"The reason the case of Helen was exceptional was that Helen, by a trick of circumstances, got found out."

*Herself, (Supra) page 150.

*It is the getting found out that is exceptional. They don't get found out one time in ten. Indeed, I regard this estimate as conservative. It is a mystery to me how more than one in fifty ever gets found out—and for all I know to the contrary that might well be the ratio.”***

The relations between the sexes have, in recent years, all over the world, undergone, and are undergoing, stupendous changes. New ideas, new conventions, new ideals of domestic life, parenthood and feminine emancipation are replacing old ideas. Only, however, in America and Russia has the family, and everything that the family has stood for through all the ages of human memory, come to an abrupt end. In Russia the cause was economic; in America it has been profligacy and perverted notions of sex equality.

The seriousness of the problem is indicated by Judge Ben Lindsey in his two books, “The Revolt of Modern Youth” and “Companionate Marriage.” In these books Judge Lindsey pleads for tolerance of the licentiousness he proves. What is valuable and unique in these books is the accumulation of cases, statistics and evidence as to what is happening in the country of which Judge Lindsey is so conspicuous and earnest a member. Judge Lindsey is able to give first-hand information from the hundreds of cases that have come before him, in his experience as Judge of the Juvenile Court at Denver. According to Judge Lindsey what he says of Denver is true of the rest of America:

“I have at hand certain figures which indicate with certainty that for every case of sex delinquency discovered, a very large number completely escape detection. For instance, out of 495 girls of high-school age—though not all of them were in a high school—who admitted to me that they had sex experiences with boys, only about 25 became pregnant. That is about 5 per cent, a ratio of one in twenty. The others avoided pregnancy, some by luck, others because they had a knowledge of more or less effective contraceptive methods—a knowledge, by the way,

**The Revolt of Modern Youth, (Supra) page 36.*

*which I find to be more common among them than is generally supposed.”**

When Russia changed her marriage laws the whole of the civilized world was horrified. It was cited as an instance of barbarism, as a blow to home life and the sanctity of marriage. If we had free love how were we different from the animals? It was barbarous; no civilized nation could tolerate it!

Yet, Judge Lindsey would have the world take a sympathetic view of the morals of America. He describes them as a revolt from the hypocritical shame of teachers and educators, of lawyers and doctors, of the clergy and the social uplift workers, who continue, in his opinion, to bolster up a farce on a grand scale. Judge Lindsey comes to the amazing conclusions that the acceptance of the present orgy of individuality among so many men and women would enormously strengthen the real “family marriage,” the welfare of the children and the youth of to-day.

Old-fashioned marriages end in divorce—see the Chapter relating to the Fruits of the Marriage Tree—the new-fashioned often in mis-trial. For many months all America has been discussing Judge Lindsey’s books in which he promulgates the ideals of the trial marriage, as the crying need of the United States’ civilization. He paints a terrible picture of Denver where chastity is almost unknown. Denver is just a normal town and there are many Denvers in the States, according to Judge Lindsey.

Judge Lindsey and others of his way of thinking do not, of course, call it trial marriage. They call it “Companionate” marriage. But a companionate marriage is really a trial marriage, for if the first attempt is not successful, the golden rule is, “Try, try again.” So why not call a spade a spade? When one syllable can do the work of five, why not let it?

Let us see what is meant by the euphemistic phrase “Companionate Marriage.” In the King’s English it means the living

**The Revolt of Modern Youth, (Supra) page 64.*

together of a girl and a man on the understanding that if—or when—one tires of the other, the tired one will be excused from the contract, so-called. For there is a contract, also a ceremony. Of course, there is no "until death us do part" clause, but an agreement, tacit, if not verbal, that amounts to—Until we are tired of each other or the proposed arrangement, after which you may have a similar arrangement with someone else, and I may do the same. But as this is only a Companionate Marriage there must be no children. Should there be any, then it becomes a Family Marriage and the children must be supported by one or both of us. Before that time—the time when there may be undesired offspring—our parents will support us until we are ready or able to support ourselves. If, on the other hand, we should decide that we really have lived together long enough to want to live together indefinitely we may have an old-fashioned wedding-ceremony, and be regularly married."* Companionate marriage, therefore, is actual marriage. The formalities are, however, reduced to a minimum. There are no bans, no registers, no ridiculous certificates. Just a bed and a will to honeymoon, a few dollars to the district attorney and you have a man and wife.

An American lawyer, noted for being outspoken, was asked what he thought of "Companionate Marriage." This is how he put it :

"When I remind you that I believe that people should be honest and fearless you must know just what I think of this fashion of whipping the devil around the stump. If a man does not care enough for a woman to marry her and yet insists on living with her, do let him call the union by its right name. It is certainly more honest. But under those circumstances he would make at least a pretence of giving financial support to his companion. In what he calls 'companionate marriage' he would evade even that responsibility. A devil of a lot a man must love and respect a girl to enter into that sort of contract."†

**The New Age*, February 1928.

†*Ibid.*

The conditions that Judge Lindsey describes as prevalent are amazing. Among the boys and girls there is a complete frankness of speech on matters of sex, ample, though often incorrect, knowledge of methods of contraception and new conventions of sex conduct. They accept lovemaking and necking as a natural pastime and they seek sexual excitement quite frankly, with no feeling of shame or wrong:

"I recall one very beautiful and spirited girl who told me that she had refused to go out with a certain boy because he lacked pep, and didn't know how, as she put it, to "love me up."

"Do all the boys do such things nowadays? I asked.

"Of course they do," she retorted, "If they don't, there is something wrong with them."*

It is the girls, says Judge Lindsey, who set the pace:

"The high-school boy is a much less dramatic figure than the high-school girl. Generally she sets the pace, whatever it is to be, and he dances to her piping."†

The girls, according to the same author, are unabashed and deliberate. They believe that it is perfectly moral and proper to live with a boy without marriage. On this basis hundreds and thousands of couples are now living without any feeling of guilt or sin, troubled only with the fact that parents have to be hoodwinked and society deceived. Judge Lindsey relates the story of a girl of seventeen, who had for five years previously relations with several school boys "and who at seventeen settled down to one lover instead of many" living in "prenuptial relations." She eventually married when her mother and her mother's friends wept, as women have a way of doing at weddings no doubt thinking sentimentally how innocent and unprepared she was for the experience of marriage. These five years of promiscuity beginning at 12, these years of prenuptial relations constitute, Judge Lindsey's Revolt

**The Revolt of Modern Youth*, (Supra) page 57.

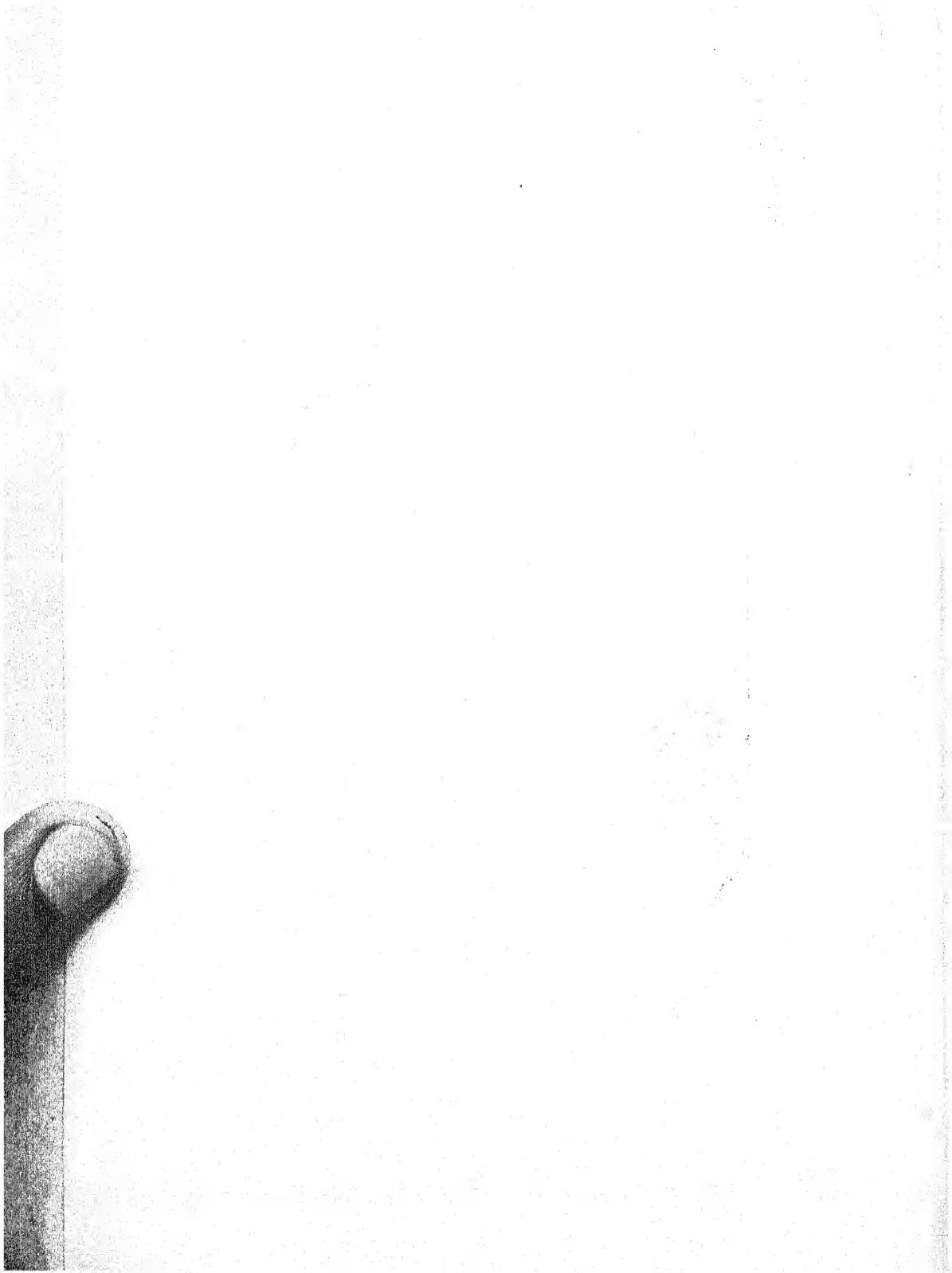
†*Ibid*, page 55.



M. & M.

A POPULAR GAME.

"Glorious bachelor apartments where stiff poker celebrates the subversion of complacent virtue."



of Modern Youth and the need for Companionate Marriage. In Russia this is known by the much more sensible title of free love.

The pedantic explanation of this new outlook which Judge Lindsey puts into the mouth of the average girl is :

*"Married, why Judge, out of ten girls in my set who have gotten married in the last two years, more than half are divorced or separated from their husbands I and my generation believe we have a natural right to such adventure in loving. We have a knowledge of contraception which precludes likelihood that invalid babies will complicate the situation and we believe that this effort to replace tradition is commonsense."**

I hope the learned and kindly Judge Lindsey will forgive me when I say that his reasoning is confused. On the one hand he excuses immorality on the score, "She was ignorant, her parents kept her in the dark," on the other hand he pleads, "Why not be candid about this? Why not recognise what is a fact, that Mary and her generation are actively seeking a solution for the marriage problem." Judge Lindsey is careful, however, to qualify 'seeking' as 'often mistaken.' There can be no half way house in such matters. Either we have to take our stand on chastity, on the home, on monogamy, or relegate morals as at present understood to the junk heap. If, the present code of social right and social wrong has failed, then by all means try the other but do not say that the trial is mistaken, or that it is due to ignorance and to prudery.

The answer to Judge Ben Lindsey comes from an American, straight from the shoulder of a New York man :

"I am a prude according to these liberal minded individuals. They rave about the "secrets" of sex. Why do we not educate the children? Those in possession of these all-important "secrets" are blinded by priggishness and their minds are enveloped in filth.

**The Physical Culture, Magazine, February 1926.*

"What does a child (one who has not yet reached the state of adolescence) want to know about sexual matters? There is no boy or girl over fourteen who does not know all that is necessary to lead a clean, chaste life. Such information is acquired gradually, the same as a child gradually learns there is no Santa Claus. Nobody ever told me the "secrets" of sex. Yet I know them.

"There are some folks who just revel in smutty conversation. These same individuals or their kin are now engaged in startling 'back-to-nature' or sunworshippers clubs; the cardinal principle of which is that clothes are unnecessary and even sinful.

"All in all, these broad-minded folk (so-called) who want sex information disseminated and who want clothing done away with are merely a lot of sensualists, whose minds have been contaminated and whose wills have been broken and conscience silenced by their long-unrestrained lustfulness.

"A gentleman whose name I no longer recall, once defined sin or lustfulness as that which 'we first abhor, then pity, then embrace.' These broad-minded have been in the stench so long they can no longer detect the odor."*

The disgusting thing about the work of this gospel of anarchism is the bravado and cant with which it is preached. The Trial Marriage or Companionate Marriage is a species of free love, indistinguishable from that which was promulgated in Russia and from which the civilized nations recoiled in holy horror. It is an insidious attack on the marriage institution, all the more insidious because of its hypocritical pose. But happily with the "ceremony" associated with Companionate Marriage the name of no deity appears. God detests humbug. It is just as well, therefore, that the union is possible without the blasphemy of his blessing upon a transaction that is not honest enough to call itself by its right name. With companionate marriage, the home goes by the board and the whole idea of the family with it. The doctrine means nothing more nor less than the dissolution of society as generally understood.

*Vide *Physical Culture*, Magazine, February 1926.

A "New Woman" writing in the same issue of "Physical Culture" says, "Equal rights mean equal rights. No man should drink, smoke, swear or be lax about sex matters without acknowledging that a woman has the same right to do likewise."* This is the American girl and the gist of the question; equal rights implying equal liberties.

The real cause of the delinquency of the American youth of to-day is not ignorance, nor an honest search after truth. It is the direct product and result of the new freedom, the economic equality of sexes, the intermingling of races and the earlier puberty and sex urge uncontrolled and unregulated, it is common or garden lust, a vulgarity born of foul literature and sensuous dancing, defiance of temperance laws and co-education. It is due to abnormalities in adultery and divorce, it is due to continuous sensationalism in young minds, sensations from movie land, sensations from nude exhibitions, sensations in the Press, sensations of living fast and thinking slow. The greatest factor in the new emancipation is the stupid propaganda and notions of equality with men.

The Church and Press instead of teaching that the doctrine of equality is carried too far, when parity is claimed in license, encourage, for purposes of congregation and circulation, ideas that spell ruin to the race and the destruction of American civilization.

Judge Lindsey's views on the new orientation of American morals is not shared by all Americans. Says Bernarr Macfadden :

"Not until the women of this nation respect themselves too much to make themselves thus common can we hope to see our young men live up to the standards of purity of thought and act which the welfare of the nation demands."†

**The Physical Culture*, Magazine, February 1926.

†*Womanhood and Marriage*, Macfadden Publications Inc., New York, page 98.

The *Signs of the Times*, writing on the subject recently made a passionate protest that boldly faced realities, and which came nearer the truth than any conclusions arrived at by sympathetic but misguided apologists of American morals :

“ There is a trinity of evil powers abroad in the world to-day, and all of them are hell-bent : Salacious literature, which has so amazingly increased in volume and daring since the war; the motion picture, with its erotic themes and eternally warring triangles; and the lowered moral standard of women as revealed in their dress, or lack of it, their increasing use of the cigaret, and their promiscuous familiarities with the men, as in ‘ necking ’ and ‘ petting ’ parties.

“ These three are increasingly with us, and they mean deterioration and destruction of Christian society and civilization. Unless they are checked, our history will parallel Rome and those other nations of history whose lust and passion sent them with their wine, women and song to the gates of hell and oblivion.”



"YOU JUST KNOW SHE WEARS 'EM'"
—"The Circus of Life."

CHAPTER X.

ACCIDENTS WILL HAPPEN.

Science invents means to over-ride the laws of nature, clever devices that prove man's superiority over nature. Motherhood is the natural result of the physical union between the male and the female. Science has devised means even to regulate race procreation, and the initiated can fix the number of their heirs as they can soar into the air, or hold conversation with the ends of the world without ostensible links of communication. Man's victory over nature and the harnessing of her latent forces is now a matter of every day occurrence.

But sometimes nature outwits man's most cunning contrivances. Such occurrences we term accidents—a term signifying our conceit—accidental that nature should have outwitted us.

Accidents happen to the most careful of us: the best contraceptive is only 95 per cent certain. There is always the 5 per cent chance of failure. This is where trial marriage fails.

In order that the programme and scheme of careful investigation in the search of the ideal husband may be successful, it is essential that contraception should be one hundred per cent certain. Against the five per cent uncertainty, there is not even insurance!

Vae Victis! Woe to those who lose to nature. Woe to the victims. America has uses for the unmarried girl, but for the unmarried mother, none. The American gallant, who has no scruples in demonstrating his sexual fascination has no sympathy for the mother-to-be. Barring a few exceptions, the average American, it is a regrettable but true conclusion, has not the chivalry or the manhood to stand by the woman he has seduced and of whose favours he has partaken. There is a word which describes this type of man, but I refrain from using it. Says Dr. Lowry in his advice to Young American girls:

*"The majority of girls are led to take the first step by promises of marriage. Real life has proved these promises seldom are kept. The man 'changes' his mind after the mis-step has been taken. He goes away and forgets, the girl is left to bear the consequences of their mutual sin. The men like to take these girls out and enjoy themselves but when it comes to marriage—the man wants a different kind of wife."***

*Dr. Lowry, *Herself*, (Forbes & Co.), Chapter XIV, page 121 *et seq.*

American Magazines, both fictional and others, such as Hearst's *Cosmopolitan*, *True Story*, *Dream World of Love and Romance*, *True Experiences*—and others abound with tales of the woes of the unmarried mother. The question is frequently mentioned and commented upon in the Press. Letters from victims of seduction, who are on the way to motherhood find their way into the daily and other periodicals. The juvenile courts handle thousands of cases every year. Judge Lindsey has much to say on the subject of the unmarried mother:

"She said to me, with a sadness I shall never forget, 'I have done many things Society will consider sinful; but for all these I can forgive myself and forget them—save one: that I didn't have my baby. Oh, why should people condemn a girl like me for doing a good and noble thing by bringing a child into the world, but let her go scot free if she does not bear it?'

*"I may add that her statement of the choice that lay before her is accurate. I have known many girls whose relations with men have been condoned by the segment of society they moved in, provided they didn't have a baby, and provided they put an end to life already quick within them."**

The following is typical of the unmarried girl who finds she is to be a mother:

"I learned that I was to become a mother. I had always wanted a home and babies but this entailed responsibilities which I was as yet not able to meet. However, I was ready to give up my desires for a career to fill the greatest place a woman can—a homemaker and mother. But this was only part of my trouble.

"The man whom I idolized, who had been so attentive and gentle to me, proved to be unworthy. When he learned of my condition his feelings toward me changed.

**The Revolt of Modern Youth*, pages 220-221.

It was then I realized he had been going with another girl whom he said he loved. He had too many interests at college to marry me and give his attention to a family. Words cannot express my feelings and no one can realize how hurt and broken-hearted I was. I could hardly realize that anyone could fall so far below the level of being a man. Is it any wonder that I have lost faith in all men? Nothing seemed to matter and to me the world seemed blank and bare. It was then that I began to wonder if there is any happiness in the world.

*"I was urged to have an abortion."**

Here is another :

"I will give you a short outline of my life since April last when my troubles began for which I blame my parents partly, because I was not allowed to have my friends at home or go out with young men, as the other girls do. without my parents' knowledge of it and because I was kept ignorant of the things I think every girl would know. I was nineteen last March. The men say I am the kind that looks good to men, that they cannot resist. As to this I do not know, but I do know that I always attract their attentions and I am sorry that I do. And yet I crave them. I have for years and I am lonesome without them. I want their friendship and company. I do not know why it is but I am more satisfied with the boys than the girls. Last April a young man, somewhere in the thirties, I think, though he looked much younger, came to our little country town. He was handsome, well educated, finely dressed and always seemed to have plenty of money. I was very unhappy about this time over my troubles at home and because my boy friend, who always had been a friend through all, had for some cause unknown to me stopped writing to me. So I met the young man first in company with friends a couple of times. then he wished to make an appointment to meet me alone and through the kindness of my friends, I met him out at night several times. On the third night before I realized what I was doing I had let him ruin me. I had never been

*Physical Culture, Magazine, June 1926.

told that this was wrong and yet I seemed to know that it was. It worried me, but there was no one I could go to for advice and my friend said that since what was done already could never be undone I might as well keep it up, etc. Having no advice but his, I followed it and for several weeks met him out any and everywhere and time I could. I knew of the trouble that might come from these meetings and asked my friend about it but he said that everything was all right, that he would tend to that and that nothing would happen. He was going away in a few days and gave me some medicine to take, telling me I was only held back on account of it being the first time. But I didn't believe him and went to a married lady whom I had known but a short time but whom I thought I could trust and who would help me. She invited my friend and me there one evening and talked the matter over with us or rather with him. He stayed over and helped me out of my trouble. But my health has never been the same since. Now, what I want to ask you is this, do you think it would be right for me to marry any man, with him thinking that I am good or innocent? Do men expect that of the women they marry? But I do not wish to marry if I can help it, but I must do something. I will go crazy if I stay here at home from worrying over what I have done and for fear my parents will find it out. What I wish to do is to go away to work, but I have no one to go to and am afraid I cannot resist the temptations that they say come to every working girl. I have given in twice since my trouble, both times shortly afterwards. The first because I could not help it and the second because I was afraid of being told on, he having been told by the first man. But when I found out I could not resist the teasing I quit going out and it has been months since I have been out with a man and I am trying to lead a decent life but it is hard and at times it seems that I must give in. Now, please write and tell me just exactly what you think of my case. Has my whole life been ruined by this man?"*

" Unless this girl will ' play soldier ' and ' right about face ' she is in danger of landing in a house of ill-fame. How common is her story?"†

**Herself*, (Supra) pages 157 to 160.

†*Ibid*, page 160.

Mother love has been looked upon by mankind throughout the ages as the most beautiful and the most perfect emotion. Even among the animals, mother love is the most wonderful of instincts. And yet there are communities who lay claim to civilization, who think that if motherhood be not marked "legitimate" it is to be branded with disgrace, and the child of such mothers is a creature of sin and of shame:

*"I am for children first, because I am for Society first; and the children of to-day are the Society of to-morrow. I insist, therefore, on the right of the child to be born and that there be no 'illegitimate' children. I demand for the unmarried mother, as a sacred channel of life, the same reverence and respect as for the married mother."**

It is necessary, therefore, in the interests of unborn children, threatened with murder before their birth and with disgrace after it, that the social stigma now placed be removed, to the end that such persons, be their way of living right or wrong, wise or unwise, may, if they wish, bring children into the world without fear that a conventional savagery will point at them the finger of scorn and shriek to the stars, "Unclean ! Unclean ! Y-a-a-ah ! Unclean ! Unclean ! It is further necessary that such persons be dealt with by Society ahead of time through education, and not through persecution after the mischief is done, the persecution that drives them to despair, subterfuge, and even murder.†

Abortion is the usual remedy sought by the unmarried girl who finds she is shortly to be a mother. Only a few have the courage to bear through the months of trial and persecution to bring forth the chubby face that is dear to any woman of normal instincts. The ordeal is an ordeal of shame but chubby faces are worth all the ordeals. There are some mothers, one is glad to say, who chose the ordeal to murder by the abortionist.

**The Revolt of Modern Youth*, page 220.
†*Ibid.*

But those who refuse to have their little ones slaughtered are, comparatively few, compared to the many, who resort to the abortionist or otherwise produce a miscarriage. With righteous indignation exclaims Judge Lindsey:

*"Persons who, ignoring the rights of the unborn, talk glibly, with parrot squawks, about such recognition of unmarried unions being a 'sanctioning of immorality' choose their words badly. If that be a sanctioning of immorality what words can be found to characterize the murder of at least a million and a half unborn babies in this country yearly, and the murder of thousands upon thousands newborn, natural, but 'illegitimate' babies besides?—If it be a choice between 'sanctioning morality' and virtually compelling terrified girls to practice abortion and infanticide, by all means let us sanction immorality, or at least admit that it is the lesser of two evils. Mrs. Grundy won't like it, but I am confident God will—and millions of His murdered children will"**

Abortion if successful in putting away the prospective fruit of the unmarried union, very frequently leaves the mother a physical wreck. The curse of God and nature is upon the mother who takes the life of her unborn or an infant child. Abortion may serve to show a virtue already lost and infanticide may solve maternal responsibilities, but nature exacts her penalty. With the child goes the mother's sex, the mother's health and the mother's mind. Sterile, broken, distracted—a prospective for the trade or for suicide.

Pregnancy is one of the accidents that may happen as a result of the unmarried union. Venereal disease is another. If Judge Lindsey's figures are correct a million and a half illegitimate children are put away every year in unmarried unions. There are at least thirty-five million such unions in the United States on the ratio that only in one of twenty cases does pregnancy occur. The fact that five million acts of prostitution are com-

**The Revolt of Modern Youth*, page 220.

UNCLE SHAM.

mitted every day in the United States, and that 98 per cent of prostitutes are venereally affected, and that in many towns nine out of every ten men are venerally infected; a ' cold ' is easily caught. Venereal disease is in fact so common and general among the younger generation in the United States that it is laughingly referred to as a ' cold.' If there are five per cent chances for a contraceptive failing there is a ninety per cent certainty of venereal infection.

What answer has the moral giant of history to these facts?



CHAPTER XI. BEFORE THE ALTAR.

"In our heart of hearts all of us want to get married," said an American girl to me. This is probably true not merely of American girls but girls the world over. The boys, also the world over, consider marriage as the supreme culmination of their youthful dreams. Probably the American boy is no exception, yet America complains of a declining marriage rate and a rising divorce rate. Inspite of what Judge Lindsey has to say, marriage as an institution has not failed. Old-style marriages are still successful and happy, but not as the new trial marriages or temporary cohabitations. If marriages in the United States are generally failures, it is to the cheap sensual attitude with which the ideal of marriage is out of tune, that

we must look for an explanation and to little else. No family can flourish without idealism, mutual concession and a large amount of Spartan discipline. When people revolt against discipline, against mutual concession, when the demand is for freedom and equal rights, then the campaign for easier conditions of marriage is nothing more nor less than an attempt to free sex from discipline and responsibilities. It is notable that inspite of prevailing notions of companionate marriage, and the rising divorce rate, the American girl does get married, even if the marriage is shortlived. There are advantages the married girl scores over the unmarried girl. Accidents happen in the best regulated homes but accidents to married girls are presumed, in the absence of contrary evidence against the husband. An unmarried girl has no such protection. Then, it is far more fashionable to be a divorcee or a widow, than to be an old maid. No girl likes to feel that she has been left on the shelf. Once a girl is able to add the abbreviated prefix of so and so's mistress there is no objection to her being even contemporaneously somebody else's mistress. The American girl, therefore, takes a suitable opportunity of acquiring the coveted prefix. If an eligible young man proposes, so much the better, otherwise blackmail can always compel him to.

A friend of mine in Chicago, the son of a leading banker, is married to a woman very much older than himself, and evidently not from the same class. Enquiring, I find that at the time they married she was forty-two and still a spinster. They had met at a Broadway Restaurant and he had taken her for an automobile ride, and to the park. A few days later she informed him that she was to be a mother. He tried to evade the consequences, but on the threat of a declaration of the paternity of the child, a marriage followed. It was described in the press as a Romance—"Banker's son 23, marries Millinery Assistant 42—sequel to automobile ride"—my friend eventually found that there was no heir forthcoming, but the contract was not voidable on that score.

This type of marriage is pretty frequent in the States.

When a girl has had a few years of a "good time," when most of her contemporaries are arranging their trousseau, it is not difficult to trap an eligible suitor. In a later chapter we shall see that the professional prostitute is usually in the trade about six years. Apparently both trial marriage and the regular trade start and end much about the same time. Then the altar, two years of respectability and appearance, then alimony and divorce or adultery by consent.

If results are to be the sole criterion, very few American marriages appear to be marriages of love. According to a clever investigation on love affairs, women reach the peak of their love affairs earlier than men.* With fourteen the curve begins bounding up. It reaches its greatest height at eighteen and the field of greatest activity runs from sixteen to twenty. Men reach the peak between twenty-one and twenty-two. Thus the periods of the greatest susceptibility for women and men in this research are separated by a gap of about three years. Women come to the height of their love-period three years before men. This is exactly the gap in time that we commonly observe between the physical maturity of women and men. The girl comes of age at eighteen; the man at twenty-one.†

After the peak, the men go down more slowly than the women, just as they have risen more slowly. Only when the peaks of passion and beauty are passed and both Nature and Love are upon the downward path, does the modern Eve turn to marriage for the succour and protection that matrimony affords. Hence many of the marriages are made simply as a matter of convenience—in order to inherit property, for social position or in a spirit of pique. Such marriages are not natural marriages and are in violation of the right spirit of the law of marriage. The much quoted saying, "What God hath joined together, let no man put asunder," surely does not apply to these marriages; for that very admission would be a condemnation of

**Harper's Magazine*, August 1928.

†*Ibid.*

the wisdom of God. He surely never would give His sanction to many of the marriages contracted in a spirit of lust or of greed.*

In recent times there is a new incentive for marriage, an incentive which has inspired "Faith Baldwin" to weave a deliciously frank romance about it.† Alimony is the subject of the story and is well worth reading:

"To-day, following upon easy marriage, we have easy divorce. And also, to-day, we have a new race of women and men—the alimony-getters, the alimony-hunters, the alimony-payers.

"It is a simple—and certainly a true—thing, to say that when love ceases to be a sacrament at the table of marriage, that marriage should be dissolved. Yet, on the other hand, thinking people—among them an ever-increasing number of our Supreme Court Justices—feel that marriage can be too plainly dissolved and is sometimes entered into by careless and mercenary women with the self-assurance that if they do not like the particular bed they have made they can unmake it again—and get paid for so doing. In this country thousands of women are being supported by men to whom they are no longer wives. They are kept women.....yet their own mistresses."‡

Once upon a time, in America, and even to-day in most countries of the world, race procreation was considered to be among the principal of civic duties of married life. The child was considered to be the supreme sublimitation of man and wife, and to this day in many societies, where motherhood is honoured, parenthood is deemed a privilege, prospective mothers felicitiously referring to their condition as "awaiting a happy event." If there is some excuse for trial and companionate marriage, there is no possible excuse for the avoidance of maternity. The ultra smart woman of to-day—and more and more women follow the code and manners of the ultra smart—shirk the responsibilities of maternity. This is one of the logical con-

**Harper's Magazine*, July 1928.

†*Alimony*.

‡This subject is further referred to in Chapter XII.

sequences of the equal rights for women hypothesis. If men do not bear children, why should women! Such conclusions are, of course, nonsensical, but they are logical once the hypothesis of equal rights is admitted.

America being ultra modern, married life in the United States is not the married life conceived of and practised in other parts of the world. In the United States the marriage of fact is different from the marriage of theory. If divorce does not follow, martial relations are governed by the rules of hygiene, separate beds, contraception and the like.

Marriage has been often likened to a partnership, the partnership sanctified and idealised to ensure permanency. In certain societies marriage is a sacrament, a union incapable of dissolution. In Christianity marriage is a sacrament: "what God hath joined let no man put asunder." But men do put asunder and God in marriage is an antiquated superstition. The institution of marriage in America is no longer the sacrament or the indissoluble union, it is no longer the sublime culmination of affections, no longer the civic duty of race procreation, no longer the ideal of parenthood. Different societies evolve different systems of the marriage ideal. The Hindus of India permit of polygamy, yet we know that polygamy is rarely practised except for reason of failure of children and heirs to carry forward the family name and family estate. The religion of Mohammed permits of polygamy to prevent promiscuous prostitution, it recognises that man is not generally a monogamous animal and rather than that he should go to the street, and the diseases of the street, it permits him (provided he can be fair in his affections) the right to marry more than one wife. Certain other societies, classed as primitive, recognize temporary marriage, even for so short a time as an hour. This avoids illegitimate children; every child is born of wedlock, there is no brand of shame on the son who is to be a useful member of society, nor upon the daughter who is in her time to procreate the race. In such societies there is no need for would-be mothers to resort to abortion, nor to commit suicide, nor to hand over

their children to the care of orphan institutions. The societies generally referred to as crude and heathen, solve the problem by recognising polygamy or polyandry or temporary marriage. Unions in these races are often abiding and of affection. Home life is the ideal, and not merely the ideal; it is the prize that sons grow to defend and the daughters of the nation to cherish.

As I have already said, the modern conception of equality of men and women is the greatest destroyer of the institution of matrimony and domestic life—even in partnerships there are working partners and sleeping partners. Marriage is a partnership. To be successful it is necessary that man should do the work and woman the sleeping. This may be antiquated, but if you want marriage you must follow the incidents of marriage. When you expect a woman to keep the home fires burning, the home cannot be what it has been. The woman who feeds the brute has the right to change the brute when she wants to. In America where woman has come more into economic independence than any other country of the world, is it surprising that she does make her changes pretty frequently?



WHO IS RESPONSIBLE?

—Detroit News.

CHAPTER XII.

FRUITS OF THE MARRIAGE TREE.

Sex and hunger are the two greatest urges common to life and the human race. Like other great natural forces, sex impulse may be a source of great blessing, if adequately controlled, and thus be the prime incentive for higher and better living. If uncontrolled and misdirected, the forces that may perform gigantic tasks for good may become the causes of ruin and destruction. Sex energy properly directed strengthens the formation of society, but the flame unchecked and unregulated may reduce public life and happiness to ashes.

America has made great contributions towards the sum of human achievement, in the harnessing of the great forces of Nature to the service of Man, the building of the mighty structures that reach out to the sky, the swift trains that bring the

UNCLE SHAM.

ends of the Continent within easy reach of each other, the giant industries that hammer out the implements for the world's comfort and the world's needs. But Uncle Sam has let loose his sex morals constituting a gorgon of horror in modern life.

We have seen how early begins the adventure in sex and the forms these adventures assume: the search for thrills and the marriage of convention. It now remains to collect the fruits of the marriage tree.

The fruits are of four kinds, separation, divorce, venereal disease and sterility.

As to the first, separation, says Judge Selah of the New York Supreme Court:

*"They are conducive to immorality. They are a national menace. They jumped to a high figure ten years ago, and have continued to increase. They do no one any good. And most of them are unnecessary, for there is no one husband in five hundred who is such a dangerous brute as to be 'unsafe to live with.' Frankly, a separation action is usually alimony-grabbing; nothing else. It is the desire of some gold-digging young wife to live at ease on a man's money without cooking his breakfast, bearing his children, or helping to build up his career. And if spiteful, she enjoys placing him in a position where he must support her and can never remarry, should he wish to do so."**

The problem of Alimony, so intimately associated with the Separation Problem, has been carefully investigated and reported upon in an American magazine:

"There is alimony that is justifiable and honourable. Against it there should be no prejudice. It is the support rightfully granted a wife with little children, or one middle-aged and economically helpless, or one who has become an invalid during marriage—when the husband's behaviour has forced a termination of the partnership.

"All honor and sympathy to such wives!

"Then there is alimony that is unjustifiable and dis-honourable. It is the blood-money wrung from a decent

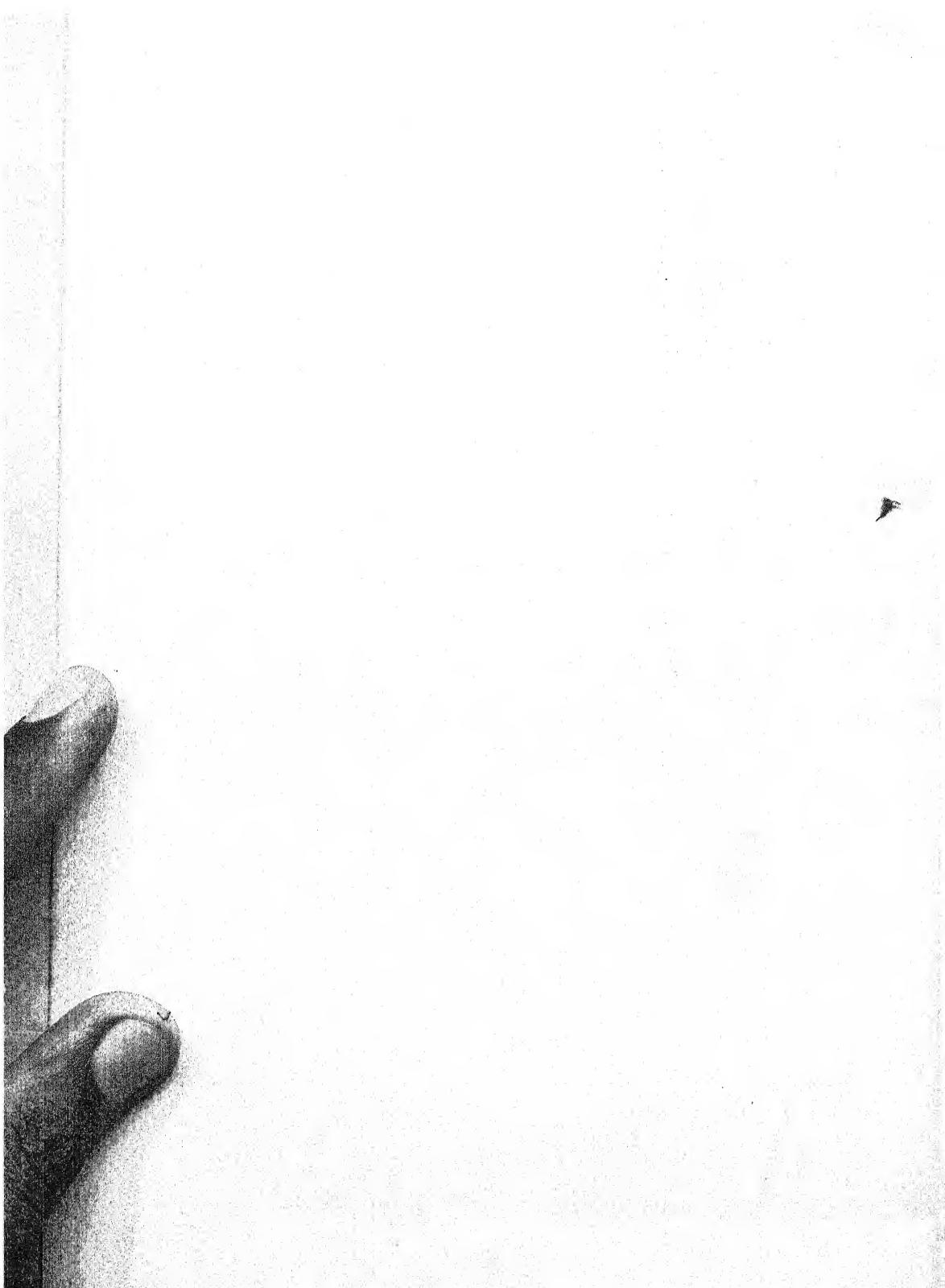
**The Delineator*, September 1928.



BY THE LAKES.

"Do all the boys do such things now-a-days?" I asked.
"Of course they do," she retorted. "If they don't there is
something wrong with them."

M. & M.



husband by a gold-digging, scheming, childless young wife with grievances, who perceives in 'separation with alimony' an open door to idleness and revenge. It means for her an income without responsibility. For him: monthly payments, loneliness, inability to marry. Could a cruel woman ask better weapons?

"To-day our courts are choked with cases of the latter type. Few of them ever come to trial. Why need they? The greedy woman who is suing her unlucky husband and her lawyer can usually gain their object—money—without trial. In most states the law decrees that a man must support his wife and pay her counsel fees while trial is pending, whether it is husband or wife who is suing, and no matter how strong the evidence against the wife may be.

"Our judges are required to decide the amount of the temporary alimony and award it, on affidavits alone, without ever seeing husband or wife, hearing the evidence in detail or ascertaining the man's ability to pay. These matters are postponed until trial. Yet not one separation case in a hundred ever comes to trial. And some are delayed as long as eighteen and twenty years before being tried.*

The temporary alimony awarded a childless wife is usually one-third of her husband's income. And often the court must rely on her estimate of this. Here, even the well-intentioned woman is faced with a real temptation. The unscrupulous one exaggerates grossly.

Having obtained substantial 'temporary' alimony, the gold-digger can lean back and take her ease. And she does! Especially in those states where a man may be jailed for non-payment of alimony.

"'It's pay—or go to jail,' she assures herself grimly. 'And he can't afford jail.' So she lets the case drag.†

"In a number of states, men who have lost their positions or fallen ill have been jailed months and years for inability to meet arrears in 'temporary' alimony, a custom still in full force."‡

**The Delineator*, September 1928.

†*Ibid.*

‡*Ibid.*

Some true cases of the hardships following an action of separation, will be found in the Appendices. Faith Baldwin's romance "Alimony" is well worth careful study by anyone interested in the matrimonial problems of America.

In considering the divorce question, it may as well be at once admitted that in a great majority of instances the decree is acceptable to both parties—if not actually desired by them.* "From every corner of this country" says Robert Fillert Root, Founder of the New York Alimonypayers Protection Association (the name of the Association is worthy of note), "an army of foolish young wives, self-indulgent young wives, and young wives ailing in body and mind or both, are besieging our courts with the story of their wrecked marriages."† In the opinion of the Detroit *Free Press*, "Many people who marry to-day do so in the full expectation that the union may be temporary." "Thousands upon thousands of people," continues the same journal, "consider the smashing of the marital tie a mere incident of life which does not of necessity carry either reproach or odium and may even be something to brag about."

There were, for example, in 1925 as many as 146,069 uncontested cases, or 84 per cent of all divorces granted. In this connection Judge C. W. Hoffman of the Domestic Relations Court of Cincinnati, found from an investigation in his court that a least 75 per cent of the defendants had valid grounds for defence, but did not choose to stand upon them. The inference to be drawn is that the majority of the divorces are the result of either a tacit or an open understanding between husband and wife. Furthermore, many judges tell us, when suits are contested it is for the sake of the property and the children, and nothing else, in nine cases out of ten.

Divorce under English law may be obtained for certain well defined reasons. The husband may obtain a decree on the ground of adultery, but a wife must establish not merely

**Harper's Magazine*, July 1928.

†*Physical Culture*, July 1928.

adultery, but adultery combined with cruelty. On certain other exceptional grounds the marriage union may be annulled. The necessity of a revision of English divorce law has long been recognized but I do not think England could ever tolerate the mockery of American divorce. Typical of the average American divorce are the following three cases:

(i) “Yes, my marriage has come to grief and we’ve said good-bye, my husband and I. It was all his fault, as I told him. He was just an old-fashioned husband, in a new-fashioned day. He groaned—about everything. Particularly about babies. ‘Two babies are enough,’ I said. ‘Would you ruin my figure?’ So we agreed to disagree. Yes, we have said good-bye.”

(ii) “My marriage, too, has ended, unhappily for me. I am a disillusioned woman. My dear, what these men tell you when they come courting! And what they tell you later! That husband of mine—when he’d see me eating my breakfast at noon in bed, after a morning of headache, then how he would talk! ‘Why don’t you get out and work it off?’ he’d ask me. ‘Why don’t you develop some interest in life except parties—and cabarets—and excitement?’ So I left him at last. I couldn’t stand such talk forever.”

(iii) “My marriage, too, has ended. Because my husband was so cold. I’ve been a sick woman, for years. Melancholia, dyspepsia, indigestion, sheer weariness. And when I asked my husband to kiss me, he just walked out of the room. I am sympathetic and I cannot stand a cold man, so left him. The law will take its course.”*

The fruits of the marriage tree, ancient and neglected, is little better than a jungle product.†

Says Judge Lindsey:

“For every marriage in Denver during the year 1922 there was a separation. For every two marriage licenses issued there was a divorce suit filed. These figures are

*Physical Culture Magazine, July 1928.

†Revolt of Modern Youth, (Supra) page 211.

not limited to Denver alone. They are approximately correct for many cities of the United States."*

In a United Press article concerning statistics for marriage and divorce for the year 1924 the following figures appear:—

Atlanta, Ga—

Marriages	...	...	3,350
Divorces	...	...	1,845

Los Angeles—

Marriages	...	...	16,605
Divorces	...	...	7,882

Kansas City—

Marriages	...	...	4,821
Divorces	...	...	2,400

Denver—

Marriages (approximately)	...	...	3,000
Divorces filed	...	...	1,500

Cleveland—

Marriages	...	...	10,132
Divorces	...	...	5,256

Other cities mentioned in the report with a similar showing were Portland, Seattle, Memphis, Omaha, and many more.† Says Judge Lindsey :

"This is practically the situation already. There is no escaping the conclusion, if such facts be compared with the statistics of former years, that divorces and separations are steadily increasing, and that if this continues, as it probably will for sometime to come, there will be as many divorce cases filed in some parts of the country as there are marriage licenses granted. The reason most persons don't realise it is that the statistics don't cover the situation in domestic relations in America. For divorce is a troublesome, expensive, embarrassing business, and per-

**The Revolt of Modern Youth*, (Supra) page 212.

†*Ibid.*

sons who wish for it resort to the courts only when at the extreme limit of their endurance. There are thousands of divorces by mutual consent (separations) which never get into the statistics; there are thousands more entered into by informal arrangement out of court. There are tens of thousands of cases where the flat failure of the individual marriage is recorded in the courts, not as 'divorce' or 'legal separation' but as failure to provide, non-support, desertion, and the like. Materially and psychologically there is no reason why these should not be classed as divorces—for they would be just that if the parties to such marriages could have their way, and were not held together by circumstances, children, and their legal obligations. The general name which would cover all such cases, including divorces, separations, and all others are *Marriages that Have Failed*. Under that title it would be conservative to say that there are as many 'divorces' annually as there are marriage licenses granted."*

Collusion in divorce cases of an especially flagrant variety is rampant wherever a divorce can be procured only on evidence of adultery. The law, it is true, will permit a husband to confess to an act in the past and to supply his wife with the necessary witnesses. But such witnesses do not grow on rose-bushes, for when a man departs from the straight and narrow path he will in all probability seek the greatest possible degree of privacy. It is generally necessary, therefore, for the husband and wife to come to at least a tacit understanding. He may, for instance, conspicuously leave in his smoking jacket a letter addressed to a lady-love making a rendezvous with her on such and such a night, at such and such an hotel. The wife finds it, notes the facts, and sends detectives to apprehend the pair. Later she turns over the evidence to a lawyer, and, if he is not too scrupulous a member of the bar, he starts the suit without inquiring very closely into the methods whereby she obtained the information.

In due time, the case is heard as one of many of a crowded calendar; the plaintiff makes her formal complaint by answer-

**The Revolt of Modern Youth*, (Supra) pages 211-14.

UNCLE SHAM.

ing a series of routine questions put to her by her lawyer, and by swearing that she has not connived with her husband to obtain the divorce; the detectives recite their evidence; the husband puts in no appearance; the plaintiff's attorney makes a request for alimony and counsel fees (already agreed upon by the husband's and wife's attorneys), and the judge must perforce grant the decree since the lawyer has presented a case that is technically perfect. The procedure appears to be a very simple one, and yet it should be noted that it called for collusion between husband and wife as well as downright perjury by the latter.

Or if the husband has no lady-love, or does not care to compromise the one he has, he may procure through a firm of detectives a paid co-respondent to appear with him in a shocking situation. Or he may fall into the hands of a firm of lawyers who will cut corners by hiring several professional perjurors to swear to the necessary facts.*

A judge himself, Judge Joseph David, recently expressed the opinion in print, that at least 50 per cent of the divorces involve perjury, while Judge Harry A. Lewis, who hears a great many cases, declares that 50 to 60 per cent of all decrees are obtained by fraudulent testimony.

Of course, it is the lawyers who profit the most from the divorce laws—despite the fact that they run the danger of disbarment if they handle collusive cases with full knowledge of the facts. A cunning lawyer, however, will accept evidence at its face value and not encourage his client to go into details. Some lawyers are more cautious and scrupulous than others, and many of the firms of high standing fight shy of all divorce business. But there are plenty of lawyers to be found who know how to steer their way between the shoals of collusion. In certain jurisdictions they dare to be very bold, as in Chicago, where a famous divorce lawyer, now dead, was wont to ask a new client when the latter inquired about the fee, "Will you supply the evidence, or shall we?"†

**Harper's Magazine*, July 1928.

†*Ibid.*

The increase in divorce in recent years in the United States has been a matter of common knowledge, but decrease in the number of marriages is, however, a relatively new thing, and if it is sufficiently general to indicate a genuine tendency, it conveys an extremely sinister threat because it is interpretable as an indication that irregular unions are encroaching upon the domains of Hymen, and that in addition to considering marriage lightly, many people are commencing to ignore it altogether, as something that is merely bothersome.

Judge George C. Appel, writing recently in the *Baltimore Sun*, spoke of the tendency to avoid the responsibility arising out of the matrimonial state :

"I recall the recent case of a young man and a girl who appeared before me in a paternity case. They sought to justify their liaison by an appeal to the 'modern' philosophy which holds that youth is entitled to sex indulgence without responsibilities.

"'Why,' said the young man, 'a fellow can't afford to get married these days and set up a home in the old-fashioned way!'

"But when I questioned him, I discovered that his idea of a home was very far from old-fashioned. The sort of home he couldn't afford was an expensive apartment; his ideals of domestic life included a fine radio set, a car, fur coats, and high living generally. All highly desirable. But the point is that, in the old-fashioned way, young people used to get married and live modestly, building up gradually to the enjoyment of such luxuries. Now-a-days they've got to have them all at once.

"As a matter of fact, with living costs increased some 75 per cent since 1913, and average wages up something like 100 per cent, there's certainly no financial barrier to marriage. And yet the reformers keep telling our young people that a domestic establishment is too expensive and that, therefore, they are entitled to devise some new semi-married state."

Commenting upon the facts stated by Judge Appel and the decrease in the marriage rate the *Detroit Free Press* was led to comment :

"From the standpoint of the moralist such a situation is no less than hideous, and is full of the deadliest iniquity. And even if we put aside any consideration of arbitrary, traditional or religious rules of right and wrong, it remains bad enough."

"Decrease of marriage, increase of divorce, and (presumed) increase of concubinage and promiscuity mean relapse in the direction of animalism and failure of natural affection for children and their consequent neglect; they indicate either a stupid failure to understand that maintenance of the home is necessary to the perpetuation of civilization and free government, or worse still, a callous indifference to the fate of those institutions."

"Call marriage a success or call it a failure, as you please; it nevertheless remains a necessity if man does not wish to sink into decadence and thence gravitate toward the level of the brute."

Alongside the rise of divorce, and the decrease of marriage is the new fashion to avoid maternity as far as possible. The fashion is not confined to unmarried girls but to married women as well, who having accepted marriage, refuse to have children, an attitude revealing "lack of character and womanhood." "It is just as well," says Bernarr Macfadden, "for it is questionable if the child of a woman whose character is such as this would be an honour to his parents or of value to the world."¹*

The number of women who are desirous of ridding themselves of the natural result of the marital relation is truly amazing.

In European countries various means for contraception are available in the chemist's stores and are even advertised in certain publications. There is a mass of literature both good and bad of the methods to be adopted to prevent conception, every drug store carries supplies of the necessary articles. In

**Manhood and Marriage*, Macfadden Publications Inc., page 89.

the United States, however, it is a crime punishable in the most serious manner, for anyone to furnish information on means that will enable a woman to prevent conception. These rules,



like all rules in America, are not for the people who can afford to disregard them. If the dollar can buy bootleg liquor, it can equally buy bootleg contraceptives. As a rather pretty American girl confessed, "all our set carry these in our bags. If a man has forgotton his, why waste a good evening?"

By far the most prevalent of the means of avoiding matri-

UNCLE SHAM.

mony is abortion. So prevalent is this crime in the United States that it has come to be known as the "American crime," and "when we realise how frequently this crime, made possible only by the prudence, ignorance and superstitions of the so-called modern age, is committed by the married and by the single, we truly have cause for being appalled."*

Nine out of ten excuses for abortion are imaginary, and it is evidence of the concurring degeneracy. It indicates lack of reverence for human life, and is a fulsome proof of the corrupting environments of the times. How many women are there who would shrink from killing even the mouse that nibbles at their foot, yet do not hesitate deliberately to kill their own offspring? Whatever the specious reasoning which the woman goes through, it is none the less a fear that she has committed a sin and a crime.†

The reasons for avoiding maternity are not generally economic, because maternity is generally avoided in the classes best equipped economically to add to the race. The main reason for birth control is the freedom it gives its parents to indulge in the pleasures of life without the responsibilities, the freedom to run trial marriages, the ease in divorce without complication of the children. "Many women of to-day," says Bernarr Macfadden, "are out to avoid having children through motives of selfish pleasure. They do not wish to be bothered with babies because motherhood would interfere with their activities in society."‡ Another pitiful pretext referred to by the same authority is "Again, many women fancy that they do not want babies for fear of losing their figures."§

Such silly pretexts only reveal lack of character and womanhood.¶ Whenever you find a man or woman who is

**Manhood and Marriage*, (Supra) page 88.

†*Womanhood and Marriage*, Macfadden Publications, Inc., page 138.

‡*Manhood and Marriage*, (Supra) page 82.

§*Ibid.*

¶*Ibid.*

without an innate love for children it may be safely assumed that there is some defect in character, some perversion and some degeneracy. The love of the child is a common instinct, not merely of the human heart, but of every living creature. The prattling voice of the child, its little ways, its mannerisms pull at the heartstrings of the mother. No home is a home without the children. In a man it is a natural that he should yearn for a son in his image, a son to bear his character, his intellect, to share his success. In the mother it is equally natural that she should wish for a duplicate of herself, with dimples like her own, and bright eyes that laugh.

A home without children is cold, barren, lifeless; it is accursed of nature and of God.

Among other causes contributing to the wreck of American home-life and morals is the venereal plague that claims nearly ninety per cent of the United States' population, men and women.

The menace, according to Dr. Herman N. Buneson, Commissioner of Health for the City of Chicago, has been flourishing behind a curtain of silence.* If it were small-pox, people would be too alarmed to leave their homes, and yet neither small-pox nor tuberculosis are as deadly as these diseases. The pitiable feature of these diseases is that they attack not only the guilty but the innocent. There are records to establish that one-half of American young men become infected, that is to say, every other man. In the worst European countries the percentage is no more than one in four. The diseases are spread, according to United States health authorities, not merely by the women of sin, but also by the loose girl who is now so common in society, the highly sexed, undisciplined necker of thrills. For her it is simply one boy after another and finally there is infection received and given. The condition of the moral conventions of the United States is estimable from the fact that more than 2,500,000 cases of syphilis are treated every

**Physical Culture Magazine*, March 1925.

year in the United States,* and yet it is said that there is a "conspiracy of silence sponsored by prudery," and a campaign of publicity is necessary. The late Cardinal Gibbons writing in the *Journal of Social Hygiene*, April 1921, said:

"You know as a physician that these diseases exist. I know as a priest that they exist. It is your duty to combat them in your way as a physician, it is my duty to combat them in my way as a priest. They are enemies and you cannot fight an enemy to advantage in the dark."

If the precise figures were forthcoming the prevalence of venereal disease in the United States would be found to be not merely an epidemic but also a plague, the ravages of which are incapable of estimation.

In many parts of the world the greatest menace to the human race is tuberculosis; in the United States syphilis takes the first place, as the statistics on United States morality and census figures will show. Thirty to forty thousand deaths occur in the United States each year from hereditary syphilis alone. It has been well called the child murderer. According to one authority, there are five million syphilitic persons in the United States.† Others hold that twelve to twenty per cent of the young men become affected with syphilis,‡ and "because of the secrecy in which the whole subject is shrouded, it is reasonably certain that this estimate is likely to be below than above the truth."§

As to the prevalence of gonorrhœa, the figures are even more incredible. Careful observers place the number anywhere from seventy-five to ninety per cent of men who have reached the age of thirty,¶ and more than "a million innocent wives

**Physical Culture Magazine*, March 1925.

†*Manhood and Marriage*, (Supra) page 302.

‡*Ibid.*

§*Ibid.*

¶*Ibid.*

FRUITS OF THE MARRIAGE TREE.

are suffering from the disease in the United States, *perhaps even more than the number of prostitutes afflicted with it.**

Apart from the conspiracy of silence, there are people who regard venereal disease as a joke or something to boast about, showing what a delightful "devil of a fellow a man is."

They that sow wild, reap wild, and in the harvest not only the sinners but the innocent share.

Gonorrhœa and syphilis combined, which claim on a conservative estimate ninety per cent of men in the United States, are among the principle causes of the wide prevalence of sterility and impotence. Sterility among women may be the after consequences of abortion, but generally it is due to some disease of the genital tract, either of the husband or of the wife. From the census statistics, it appears that the birth rate of the United States is 2·6 instead of the normal five. That is to say one-half of the population, for one reason or another, is not propagating the species. Subtracting the cases of abortion and contraception and those venereally affected not more than one in eight women or one in nine men is fit to marry. Gonorrhœal infection alone accounts for far more than 50 per cent of cases of involuntary sterility.†

Competent authorities hold that there is not a family in the United States, nor an office, where venereal disease is not present in some or other member and usually in more than one. So long as promiscuous intercourse among men and women is tolerated, so long will the suppression of these diseases remain an impossibility.

The last but not least destroyer of home life is secret polygamy. Legalised polygamy has been successfully practised in many parts of the world, and in many races is still deemed to be an affective bulwark of the foundation of society. Some people still believe that polygamy and not monogamy is the real

**Manhood and Marriage*, (Supra) page 303.

†*Ibid.*

law of life, and that monogamy comes of love and not of statutory enactment. Others hold that enforced monogamy as the legal sphere of man's sex relationship is responsible for a large portion of the sexual ills of the world. What is the true position I will not attempt to answer. But what is needed in such matters is honesty. It is no good laying down a rule of conduct that you cannot follow. It is no good preaching monogamy and living in adultery. Sham morals do not make a moral giant. In the United States any legislation proposed to legalise polygamy or children born out of wedlock would shock the Christian conscience of Uncle Sam and yet :

“ Polygamy is being practised everywhere in the country—in secret.

“ Men and women marry and remarry. Divorce is increasing at a rapid rate. In the states where the laws are especially rigid the husband and wife combine and, with the use of faked evidence, a divorce is secured. Or they visit another state, and even another country.

“ But great numbers of people pay little or no attention to their marital obligations or to the laws that attempt to control them. They go their own way in accordance with the dictates of their desires.

“ And always before them is the thought that whatever they may do is all right as long as it is not found out.

“ It is the sin of being discovered that is so incriminating. Then adultery becomes a crime. But so long as it is secretly practised, the offenders have but little compunction in reference thereto.

*“ And the situation cannot be improved until there has been a material change for the better in the physical and mental character of our citizenship.”**

What with divorce, polygamy and the venereal poison the

*Physical Culture Magazine, December 1925.

fruit of marriage is well described as a jungle product. It is, however, interesting to enquire further, why the tree, sown in fertile soil, nourished in freedom and in liberty, should become so hideous and poisonous a growth?

There are two causes of the failure of the marital relation which appear on close scrutiny of the considerable mass of evidence available on the subject :

(a) The lack of a public sense of moral conduct and responsibility.

(b) Abnormal sex urge arising out of race complex.

The first is responsible for the widespread practice of polygamy, the extraordinary vogue of prostitution, and the new opportunities to young men and women to pet and neck without a corresponding conscience of civic or moral duties.

The second explains the abnormal divorce figures, the extraordinary extent of venereal disease, and the early impotency of many American husbands and the traffic in Negro waiters.

In this connection we have the findings of the well-known authority on American sex matters, Bernarr Macfadden. In Bernarr Macfadden's opinion we are "living in an age in which normality (referring to the sex relationship) is unusual. It might be termed the exception."* "We are compelled to admit," he says, "in many instances, marriages mean regular relations of the sort. Marital intimacy degenerates into a mere habit, a miserable matter of routine."† This abuse of the conjugal union brings about impotence in the husband.‡ Satiety also brings about a condition of disgust and sex antagonism which is the one all-powerful force which drives so many men

**Manhood and Marriage*, (Supra) page 62.

†*Ibid*, page 57.

‡*Ibid*, page 58.

and women to the Divorce Court. Various complaints may be named in the papers filed but the condition of sex antagonism is usually at the back of these various complaints.* According to the same authority, this abuse of the marital union by excessive intercourse is generally due to the wife, "The keynote of the "whole situation," says he, "is to be found in the wife's instinct,"† whose attitude "is the controlling factor" of "sexual relations."‡

If husbands are impotent at a comparatively early age and the urge of sex runs strong in the better but more fickle half, is it surprising that trial marriage, the assignation house and beauty parlor have so triumphant a vogue?

One further but unpleasant aspect of the sex abnormality has to be referred to. To the average individual, intercourse with the Negro is abhorrent. From records of universities and teaching societies it appears that intellectually the Negro is perhaps a little below the average of our standards, but from all Caucasian standards of appearance his hideous black skin, heavy limbs, coarse matted hair, and heavy protruding lips are in every respect the antithesis of what is regarded as beautiful.

We have referred to the case of the mulatto. There are thousands of mulattos all over the United States and not all mulattos are born of Negro mothers.

The satisfaction of sex hunger by resort to Negroes should be regarded as abnormal, the normal sex instinct of race preservation would be the mating between members of the same race. Only abnormality in sex urge or other complexes of a serious character can account for the growing numbers of inter-racial liaisons. These liaisons are frequent. They are regarded in many quarters as one of the greatest menaces with which our white civilization is faced. The craving for swarthy flesh is one

**Manhood and Marriage*, page 48.

†*Ibid*, page 52.

‡*Ibid*, page 60.

of the new diseases of the modern age, and the foundation of racial bitterness. The popularity of Mongolian night clubs and opium dens, whereof women of culture and society become habitues for the satisfaction of passion, the increasing number of Eur-Asiatic marriages are among the problems of any European metropolis.

Undoubtedly one of the consequences of the emancipation of women has been to shatter the barriers that controlled and regulated sex in the past. Abornmally passionate women there have been from all times, but such women of New York twenty years ago were few and it was possible for them to mistress Red Indians or Great Danes. Now Red Indians and Great Danes are both less plentiful than Negro butlers, and Negro butlers have been found to have a fund of vitality and muscle that is the joy of the ladies of Fifth Avenue.

Apparently so extensive is the fact of Negro liaisons particularly in North America, that warnings have to be uttered in Church Sermons. Thus Rev. C. A. Owens speaking at the First Baptist Church in North Carolina, advised his audience not to send their daughters North for education, " " where there is no race prejudice as protects Southerners." " She will come back with a little Negro," he warned the pious congregation.*

Off Fifth Avenue is Harlem. Harlem is the Negro quarter, It is vile and vicious, it is the red light district of New York. Above 125th Street and below 14th, moral standards are erased.† In the night life of Harlem, there is a great deal of sex perversity.‡ Says Mr. Graham, " The whites who go there, rather than the blacks who live there, are to be blamed for it."§ Any night stray into the night clubs of Harlem, and you will see white women dreamily trotting with Negroes in slow jazz, strange women who defy the custom of night to enjoy the thrill of the black man's dance.¶

* *Americana 1925*, (Martin Hopkinson, London) page 175.

† *New York Nights*, page 262.

‡ *Ibid.*

§ *Ibid.*

¶ *Ibid.*, page 41.

In Chicago it is the same, and so it is everywhere else. While there may be trouble, if a Negro goes into a white church, restaurant or theatre, whites, in large numbers, frequent Negro amusement resorts. Before the Chicago Commission it was stated :

*"These places are located in the most densely populated neighbourhoods. Attendance is voluntary and so is whatever amount of association that follows. There is no man-handling of white innocents to force them into the society of Negroes. Neither do Negroes go snooping around the high lights of the West or North sides seeking white companionship. But that is not the point. When this antipathy is analyzed it becomes apparent that there is a well-defined intention to prove that any relationship varying too sharply from the master and servant type is wrong. It is the yelp of tribal jealousy. It is the gaunt denial of a fallacious orthodoxy which proclaims that certain instincts will keep certain persons eternally apart. It is that complex of emotion into which all discussions of race relations resolve themselves."**

According to Mr. Graham, marvellous Fifth Avenue toilets may be seen down at Harlem, where Black comes off on White, but none of the White on the Black.

Great hotels in Europe maintain staffs of libertines for the entertainment of the male visitors. Great hotels of America maintain, as the writer personally observed, specially selected Negroes for the delectation of the feminine residents.

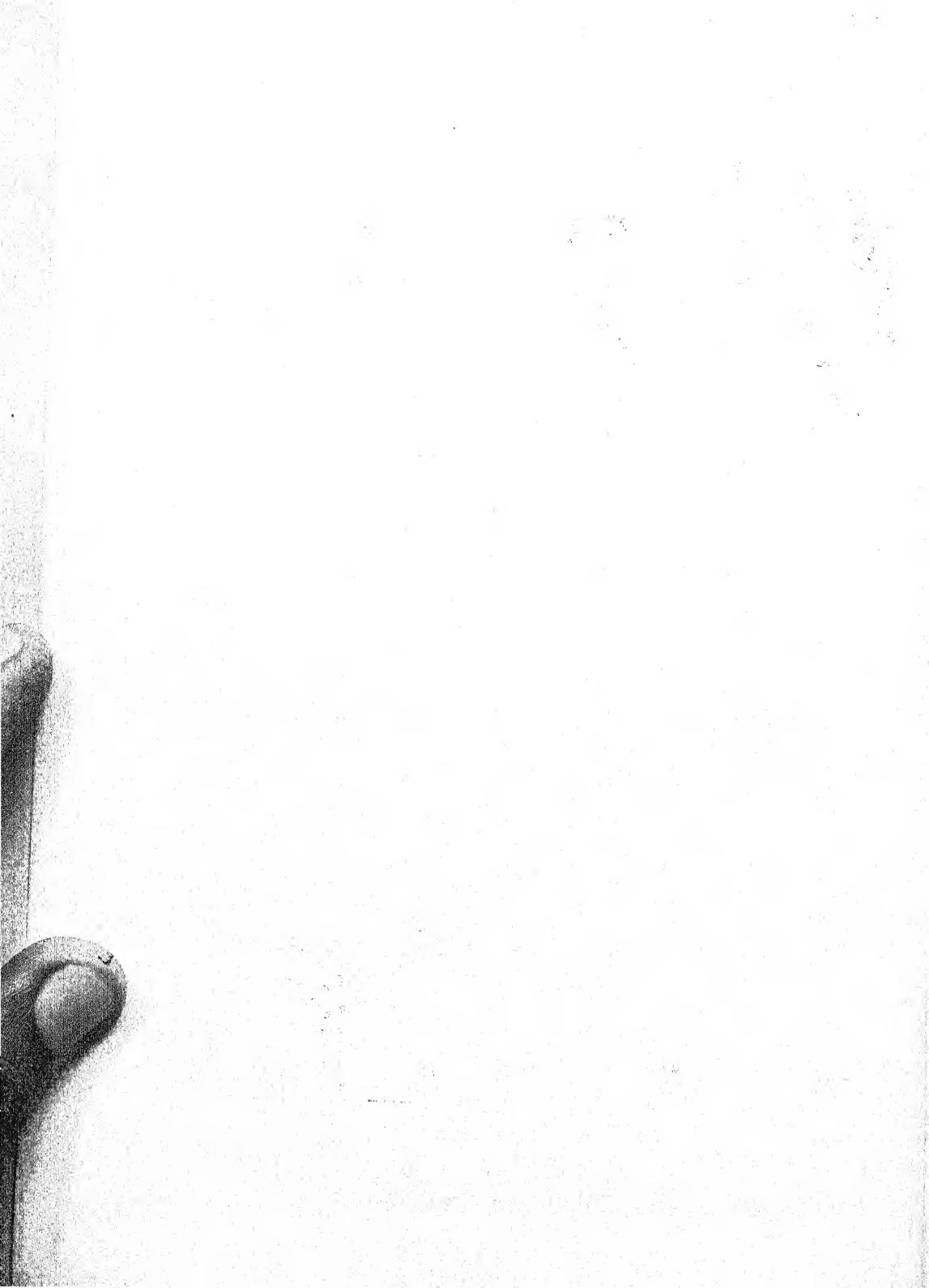
The more one looks at the Negro problem of America, the more is one confirmed that it is not an economic or a political problem. There is no danger of a Negro Government in the United States, though Negroes do administer free States abroad. The ratio between White America and Black America is too vast, and even with a falling birth rate would take some centuries to reach numerical and economic equality. The Negro problem

**Negro in Chicago*, (Supra) page 530.



A TWENTIETH CENTURY FARMER.

This photograph shows that the economic independence of women in the U. S. A. is not confined to urban occupations. It will be observed that the dress suits the occasion,



is a social problem, a conflict between the demand of nature and the bigotry of men. And yet the law for men is different from the law for women. The union of American men and Negro women is not looked upon in the same light as the union of American women with Negro men.

We have seen the tendencies of the current of modern American society. Competent authorities tell us how the rules of relationship and sexual intercourses have broken down, how the young woman of to-day demands and practises the freedom and right of amateur prostitution, how drink is still among the main pleasures of young men and women, how over 90 per cent of American men are, or have been, victims to masturbation and venereal diseases leading to millions of cases of impotence and sexual depletion, how the condition of affairs among the sexes in America is abnormal, rather than normal. We have as previously indicated, no sympathy for the state of morals which at present govern American society and which writers like Ben Lindsey seek to solemnise and justify.

The natural conclusion of this state of affairs is that if there are no codes of moral restraint, if women are free to select, then there is no argument why women, if they so desire, should not select Red Indians, Great Danes, Negro butlers or Mongolian opium sellers as their mates. If there is a depleted manhood, all the more reason. The man who pays the piper calls the tune, the libertine who can pay for pleasure is also in a position to select the beast.

If such cases were few, there would be no Negro problem in America, there would be none of the lynchings, none of the murders, none of the fiendish hate that characterize racial problems in the American Continent. For an economically inferior community there may be contempt, there may be segregation, but no inferior race raises elemental passions of murder, of bestial cruelty unless the cause is the green-eyed monster of jealousy. Nor would isolated cases as may happen anywhere justify or explain the murders and ferocity of the out-

UNCLE SHAM.

bursts which frequently occur against Negroes. There is no other explanation of the frequency and mad cruelty of the attacks on Negroes than that a considerable, and a very considerable, number of American men and women have liaisons with Negroes, and the extent of the disease may be measured by the explosions and convulsions that follow a found out case.



CHAPTER XIII. THE GREASE SPOT.

Margaret Asquith's unconventional expression and mannerism were well-known before she launched on actual authorship. But one still remembers how shocked was our English prudery at her reference to the grease spot in the bed occupied by Mr. and Mrs. Robert Louis Stevenson. A study of American life and morals reveals that grease spots are not confined to conjugal mattresses.

The problem of sex is the problem of life, changing, varying with the years as they pass by; ever enduring, the mighty torrent of life, relentless, mysterious, infinite. A problem assuming different complexions in different countries with different results and different consequences, but everywhere essentially the same problem. We have seen some aspects assumed by the sex problems in America—aspects grave and

challenging—we have seen how the grease spot is common in the co-educational centres, we have seen how wives err and how the marriage vow is held up to ridicule. No expression to our mind conveys the sense so aptly as the expression coined by Margaret Asquith.

Discussing the morals of another person or nation is not a happy nor elevating procedure, nor is it pleasant to wallow in the disgusting details that are entailed in such a discussion. Prostitution and grease spots are to be found in almost every country under the sun, and prostitutes and street-walkers are not peculiar to the United States—the traveller at trifling expense may find them in every city of the globe. Therefore, the mere fact that prostitution is carried on in the United States is no reason itself to recite the facts and to recount the figures. But when Uncle Sam says he is a Christian, when he proclaims to the world that he believes in God and considers the word of God as reproduced in the Bible as the standard of Christian conduct, and prints millions of copies of the Work to distribute among the heathens and savages of the other lands, then it is quite interesting to enquire how the moral laws settled by the prophets from Moses downwards, are followed by the nation of 77 per cent church goers.* Are the sins of fornication, adultery, prostitution, abomination and perversion confined to the unbelievers, the 23 per cent who do not go to church and the 3 per cent who admit that they disbelieve the veracity of the Testament?

Extraordinary and incredible facts justify this chapter.

From a survey of the history of human relationships and the development of social systems, it will be seen that marriage was originally consummated with no forms and ceremonies but gradually arose in response to distinct racial needs—such as the case of the infant and the pregnant mother. Polygamy, polyandry and monogamy were generally the results of individual racial needs, but generally throughout the long development of marriage, monogamy has apparently been the most constant

*Vide Chapter XIV.

THE GREASE SPOT.

normal of human ideals. Love and the sex urge of youth, finally the sweet promise of glad comfort of maturity, warming the soul to affection, to effort and to achievement, changing failure to victory, and despair to hope, dust to gold, have been the main incentives for the one-woman-to-one-man ideal. This ideal has been immortalised by the poets and romancers of all times and forms the normal aspirations of youth in every age and clime. Prostitution has from the earliest been marked with the opprobrium of religious and social opinion. Prostitution has been tolerated because of a sense of tolerance for the other man's weakness, and chiefly because of the difficulty of community interference in private morals. But promiscuity, the selling of the body for hire, for gain, to all and sundry, indiscriminately, is accursed of every religion. Even, in such a case as that of Islam, where more than one wife is permitted, the permission is to avoid promiscuous intercourse and to provide for the inheritance of the offspring, the permission being governed by stringent rules. Among the followers of Islam, prostitution is regarded as an abomination equal to wine and the eating of pig's flesh. Prostitution is abhorrent in Christian ethics. Whether man is a polygamous or a monogamous animal is beside the point. There are genuine doubts as to a man's ability to confine himself to one woman for life or to a woman's inclination to confine her sexual intimacies to her husband. Those who take this view hold that social ideals as at present existing are the antediluvian relics of a barbarous age when woman belonged to a man as chattel. "What is mine is my own." The reason given for men holding to monogamy is possibly that their paternity might be indubitable and that their homes may be insured against the advances of the stranger. These reasons may be sound, and promiscuity may be a natural and fundamental fact in sexual life, but then we must not say that we are Christians; we must frankly and openly readjust our religion to our social ethics or *vice versa*. If the sexual demand of the male or the female is so definitely potent as to necessitate intercourse regardless of marriage, society must learn to respect Mormonism, recognise polygamy and legalise polyandry. The

UNCLE SHAM.

Bible, must, of course, be revised and the 6th Commandment expunged.

Prostitution is practically unknown among savage races and despite current opinion to the contrary, appears to have developed as an institution of civilization. By prostitution is understood venal sex relationship, outside marriage. Apparently the greater the claim to civilization the greater the opportunity for such relationships. Prostitution is generally understood as the hiring of the female body for the gratification of male lust, but as will be seen hereafter, in the United States the definition includes the hiring of the male body for the satisfaction of feminine passion. The punishment that many uncivilized tribes mete out for the offence of unchastity is sufficient evidence of the absence of prostitution among these races. In Uganda the parents of illegitimate children are bound hand and foot and thrown into Lake Victoria. Prior to the advent of the white settler, the fornicator in Australia was condemned to death. In East Africa among the Takue a seducer had to pay the same penalty as if he had killed the girl. There are many instances of the severity with which primitive races and tribes look upon the unchastity of their women. Prostitution was generally little known among them till civilization arrived with its culture and its licence.

It may well be a matter of doubt whether it is more disgusting for a refined man to make love to a vulgar woman, than it is shameful for a pretty creature to submit to the caresses of a brute. But we know that there are many cases in which refined men do get themselves embroiled with the demi-monde and pretty women make willing surrender to the brute.

Until 1918 a prostitute in the United States was understood, in the absence of a statutory definition, in the ordinary dictionary sense, as a "woman who practices indiscriminate lewdness for hire." In Iowa and Illinois the question came up for consideration whether a man could not be guilty of prostitution and the courts ruled that only females came within

THE GREASE SPOT.

that definition.* When Form Law No. 1 was drawn up it was considered necessary to cover both female and male prostitutes and the law subsequently enacted in several states provides:—

" SECTION 2.—That the term 'prostitution' shall be construed to include the giving or receiving the body for sexual intercourse, for hire, and shall also be construed to include the giving or receiving of the body for indiscriminate sexual intercourse without hire."

The section is important in two particulars. It definitely recognises that prostitutes need not necessarily be women and secondly that the body may be indiscriminately given without hire. If prostitutes are not merely women, it is simple to assume that the law recognises that men may and are employed for prostitution purposes by women who want them. The prostitute, as understood in other countries, hires her body; in no other country do we find 'indiscriminate giving of the feminine body without hire.' Who are these women who take no hire?

What more galling comment could there be on American standards of morality than Form Law No. 1, Section 2?

Complete statistics of all the prostitutes in the United States is not obtainable: this is simply due to the fact that many women cannot be identified as such. But what evidence there is, is ample to show a fairly accurate picture of the actual condition of affairs. Female prostitutes come from all classes, from the girls of rich and respectable parents, who grant their favours without hire and who not infrequently pay for the entertainment, to the well established status of women in open brothels. The former class, which live at home and are summoned or attend houses of assignation when required, or when they feel in the mood, cannot be adequately estimated. With this caution, we may attempt some estimate of the number of women who have been recognized as prostitutes in the United States.

**Laws of Sex, (Supra) page 116.*

In 1911-12-13 the Federal Department of Justice undertook an enumeration and, after the necessary calculations and adjustment, came to the conclusion that there were 100,000 women in open brothels in the United States.* This took no account of the women who were street-walters or who belonged to other recognized types of clandestine prostitutes. Wollaston thinks 200,000 women in the regular army of vice is a conservative figure.† R. N. Wilson estimated the prostitutes in the U.S.A. at 500,000.‡ If this figure appears too high, the number may safely be estimated as well over 200,000. If we assume it is somewhere in the region between 300,000 and 400,000, we should not be far wrong.

Investigators familiar with the conditions have observed prostitutes satisfying the lust of more than 50 patrons a day, but the average for every woman engaged in prostitution there are about ten to fifteen patrons per working day. These men come of all classes, rich, poor, young, old, married, single, all who have learnt the way to the open door of the scarlet woman. From the women themselves it would appear that only a small group are regular patrons. The majority seek diversion from time to time. Even so and allowing for the fact that the same prostitute is not patronised more than two or three times a week by the same man, we come to startling conclusions. Taking the number of prostitutes to be 300,000 and ten patrons a day to each prostitute, we find that there are three million acts of prostitution committed each day in the United States. If the average patron goes to the same woman not more than once a week, we have thirty-five million United States citizens of the adult male population given to the patronage of prostitutes. The figure, of course, does not include travellers, tourists and the like, who combined would not at any time, possibly exceed a mere two hundred thousand.

The fees charged and paid vary from one dollar to a

**Prostitution in the United States*, page 38.

†*Ibid.*

‡*Ibid.*

thousand dollars, according to the patron, the girl, the house and the luxuries and comforts available. An interesting exhibit concerning an exclusive patron is reproduced by Wollaston. The excerpt is from evidence given at a public trial:—

“Mrs. S. testified that C. came to her home on the night of January 31st, 1915, and remained until February 5th The witness testified that his room was a sumptuously furnished one and that she paid for his ‘refreshments,’ at his request. The following is a list of the refreshments and other incidentals:—

Paid to Helen R.	...	...	\$400.00
Paid to Florence L.	...	...	\$640.00
Paid to Mabel T.	...	...	\$120.00
Paid to Anna B.	...	...	\$ 20.00
Paid to Dr. L.	...	...	\$ 25.00
Paid to wines, cigars, champagne, cigarettes	...	...	\$398.00

Paid to meals, frequently from J. at \$5.00—not estimated.”*

The average citizen, however, cannot afford so expensive an entertainment, and one dollar to five dollars is the usual fee according to time. See Appendix G for “Monte Carlo” rules.

In order to understand the method and extent of the operation of prostitution in the United States, it is desirable to indicate the typical resorts. These resorts are mainly of two kinds—places where prostitution is solicited and places where prostitution is practised. In the first category are the streets, dance halls, parks, fair grounds and amusement resorts, employment agencies, and the comparatively new vogue of automobiles. Of the second, the most important are parlor house or brothel hotels, apartments of assignation and call houses, and massage and manicure saloons.

The most obvious place for solicitation is the street. But street solicitation of the old type has nearly disappeared, the up-

*Prostitution in the United States, page 79.

to-date prostitute adopts new ways to attract her custom. The presence of plain clothes policemen has necessitated a revision in the arts of accostation. The street girl of to-day dressed to the 'nines' passes before shop-windows and allows prospective customers to pick up a conversation and suggest a walk or a neighbouring cafe. The activity in street solicitation is greatest between the hours of eight and eleven in the evening, but girls are usually available in the streets soon after noon. Dance halls and amusement parks are common meeting grounds for young persons in search of pleasure. The automobile is a new agency in the aid of vice and has become notorious as a means of introduction to prostitution. Some cars are specially equipped for the purpose.*

A brothel or parlor home is a dwelling exclusively used for prostitution. Prostitutes usually live in the house and pay board and lodging to the brothel keeper or madam. There are bed rooms to which customers may be conducted. The parlor homes are furnished according to locality and custom and charge accordingly. The use of hotels as places of prostitution is a notorious evil in many American cities, and many of the hotels maintain or encourage the residence of prostitutes on their premises to attract business and tourist patronage. Travelling in the United States, cases came to my own observation of hotels which were nothing more or less than glorified brothels, where, for a small gratification, introduction to women in the hotel could be obtained, and where the Negro establishment supplemented their income by obliging women patrons.

The Assignation House and the Call House are institutions peculiar to the United States. Assignation houses are places to which other than open prostitutes resort, and avail themselves of the protection of such places, which have outwardly the appearance of private houses. The proprietor or proprietress maintains lists of women who want to come. When a suitable patron appears, or when the girls want physical gratification, they come up to the house. It is admitted that persons who are

**Prostitution in the United States*, page 153.

THE GREASE SPOT.

ordinarily proper in their methods of life 'make appointments to meet in them,'* and married women keep appointments here.† The assignation house is an explanation to the wide scope of Section 2 of Form Law No. 1 that indiscriminate giving of the body without hire is also prostitution. The extent to which these assignation houses exist may be judged from the fact that seventy-eight such houses were located by investigation in one city, in another thirty-three, in another forty-three.‡ It is interesting to note that these homes co-existed with the usual brothels and segregated districts. "The type of resort is not rare in American cities," is the opinion of a careful observer.§

At certain places of prostitution, perversion in sexual intercourse is available and Hair-Dressing, Massage, Manicure and Beauty Saloons are frequently used as blinds for places of prostitution. These places are resorted to by men wanting women, and women wanting men. Negro and Mongolian attendants are popular with the feminine custom :

"It will be sufficient for present purposes to say that nearly all the so-called massage parlors investigated were houses of prostitution, and worse,—'worse' standing for things abominable and unspeakable It is even more impossible to give the details of the treatment given by the women to men."¶

Drink and prostitution are closely allied. Beauty Parlors dispense illicit liquor as also conjugal delights. Says Stephen Graham :—

"Then we went to a Beauty Parlor much patronised. It's a very successful establishment, combining two businesses, for at the back parlour there is a little window out of which ever and anon comes a hairy hand dispensing creature comforts to the fair unseen. A nice place! A

*Prostitution in the United States, page 138.

†Ibid, page 96.

‡Ibid, pages 138-139.

§Ibid, page 138.

¶Report of Social Service Committee, Toronto, 1915, page 17.

*girl goes for a manicure and gets a nip, goes for a wave and gets a splash.”***

Prostitution is assisted by a large number of newspapers which publish suggestive photographs and thinly veiled advertisements of places for sexual gratification. That these journals have a very large sale especially among the young is borne out by various University investigations.

Writing of this class of literature, Hendrick Van Loon the eminent American author has said, “the nefarious drivel scattered on the country’s bookstand by the ton would have been ordered to be burned by Louis the XIV, and would have made Casanova blush for shame.” This literature to which the American Universities give precedence is “the foulest collection of smut, dirt and plain pornography ever offered to the public.” Plate X shows some of the magazines with the sex appeal. They may be art magazines in name, in actual moral value to the community they are sheer dross. Plate XII is a facsimile of a full page of classified newspaper advertisements furnishing information where sexual entertainment may be obtained.

The sex experience of the average female prostitute is an interesting study. Be it remembered there is no such thing in America (as there is in the East) as the hereditary prostitute; the prostitute’s daughter being also a prostitute. The prostitute in America is usually in the trade about six years—entering it regularly about a year after the first sex experience and leaving it about six years later.† A striking unanimity in the vice investigations is that practically one-half of the prostitutes are recruited from the class of maids and domestic servants, a conclusive proof of the moral conditions surrounding domestics.‡ The other fifty per cent is drawn from various occupations, artist-models, stenographers, department stores, nurses, etc., and in many cases the work is followed after entering prostitution as a means of finding customers. The early corruption of

**New York Nights*, (Supra) page 47.

†*Prostitution in the United States*, page 42.

‡*Ibid*, page 64, *vide also Laws of Sex*, (Supra) page 69.



M. & M.

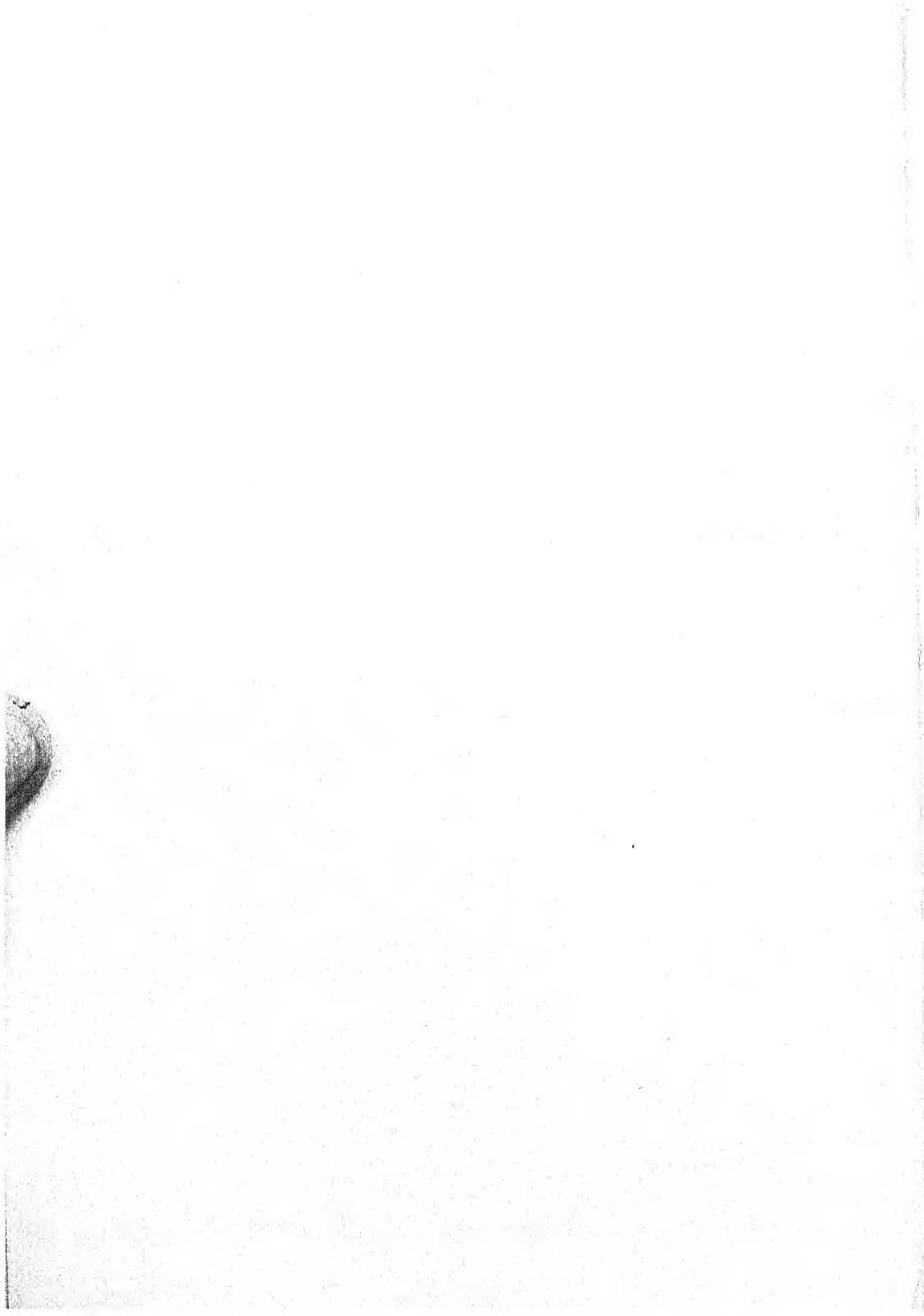
CO-EDUCATION.

"The High School boy is a much less dramatic figure than the High School girl. Generally she sets the pace."



LITERATURE POPULAR AT THE UNIVERSITIES.

Of this, says Handrick Van Loon 'the drivel scattered on the country's bookstand by the ton would have been ordered to be burnt by Louis XIV and would have made Casanova blush for shame.'



girls seems to be one of the most important undermining forces, that lead to an immoral career. From investigation* it would appear that more than 17 per cent experience the first sex offence at the age of fifteen and under, an equal number at 16 and 33 per cent between seventeen and eighteen. That is to say, 67 per cent or nearly three quarters of the girls in prostitution count their first sex offence at 18 and under. The figures also show that over 34 per cent regularly enter the trade before they are seventeen and 46 per cent between seventeen and twenty. Eighty per cent of the prostitutes are, therefore, recruited at an age of twenty and under.† The first sex offence is usually the result of seduction or rape and according to Kneeland's investigation in New York City seduction and rape account for 59 per cent and about one-half of over a thousand cases were offences committed with utter strangers.‡ These figures merely represent the cases of seduction and rape which drift into regular prostitution. Of course, there are hundreds of seduction and rape cases which cannot be investigated and analysed.

As to seduction of young children this is what Dr. Edith Hooker says:—

"The general public does not realise what an enormous number of cases of seduction of young children actually occur, for most of these cases never come to court..... One Baltimore Physician reports that in the course of one year in Baltimore City more than one thousand little girls under the age of twelve years were found to be the victims of unscrupulous men.....the average punishment was less than three months in jail."§

It would appear that soon after the age of twelve it is the girl who sets the pace. Out of 313 girls observed by Judge Ben Lindsey 285 matured at the age of 11, 12, 13 and only 28 at 14, 15, 16, and that such children at 11 or 12 had the

**Prostitution in the United States*, page 69.

†*Ibid.*

‡*Ibid.*, page 71.

§*Laws of Sex*, (Supra) page 177.

desires and physical needs of the girl of 18 and older.* But the willingness of a girl of tender age to accede to her seduction is certainly no defence to the indifference on the part of the State. In the matter of property the State does not hesitate to decree 21 years of age at which a girl may handle her property but in a matter which concerns both the girl and the State far more significantly, the State permits a girl for all practical purposes to consent to her physical and moral ruin from the age of 12 upwards.†

This early sexual experience, as previously seen, is not confined to one man or boy, and once tasted it is only obvious that its repetition should be availed of as frequently as possible. The school-boy of fifteen in the United States has long confessed to sex experience, and until recent years, frequented the red light districts for the purpose. But with the advent of the high school girl, the rival to the prostitute, the majority of school boys have deserted the prostitute for the co-educational chum. Judge Lindsey found that more than 2,000 persons were involved in the cases of 769 girls. The experience and habits formed in youth no doubt lead, in later years, to the frequentation of the assignation and call house. The number of sex delinquents may be gauged from the number of abortions and illegitimate children born in the United States. It is stated that about 250,000 abortions are performed annually in America and thousands upon thousands of illegitimate children are born every year in the States. If we assume that one illegitimate child is born to every five cases of abortion and unwanted motherhood between married and unmarried is as 1 to 3, which would be careful estimating, we have about 225,000 cases of unwanted motherhood arising out of wedlock. According to Judge Lindsey among those who confess to illicit sex relationship only twenty encounter pregnancy, which, (on a ratio of 1 to 19 escapes from pregnancy), implies that for every one case of pregnancy nineteen escape. Therefore, for 225,000 cases of pregnancy no less than

**The Revolt of Modern Youth*, (Supra) pages 82 to 86.

†*Laws of Sex*, (Supra) page 177.

4½ million women are involved and of these 4,275,000 escape. In every case of illicit intercourse at least two people are involved, so that well over nine million young men and women are directly involved in illicit intercourse.

I make these deductions with some trepidation, as clever statisticians often come forth and make statistical deductions look sad. Generally speaking, figures if conservatively taken are not liars. Deductions, by simple rule of thumb, from public statistics, are often more valuable and eloquent commentaries upon a system and supply more than all the adjectives in the dictionary. Upon what this total of nine million delinquent men and women implies to the American nation and its moral life it is unnecessary to dilate.

The largest number of prostitutes, it has been found, are between the ages of 18 and 27, the time when youth is fullest, and physical needs most potent. If the same criterion applies to the vast army of delinquent women (and there seems no reason to suppose that it should not be so) we may assume that a considerable percentage of these women are young women. According to Kneeland's investigation the ages of 80 per cent of the prostitutes are between 18 and 27. Upon the same ratio out of four and a half million amateur delinquents well over three millions are within these ages, a fact which proves in another way the deduction arrived at in an earlier chapter, that the unnecked girl is hard to find. Upon this and other evidence, is based the preamble to this chapter that grease spots in the United States are not confined to conjugal beds:—

*“A prominent reformer is reported to have said that fully one-third of the married population of New York City is unfaithful to the physical obligation. And New York is not so very different from other parts of the country.”**

The measure and extent of venereal disease in the United States has been discussed in an earlier chapter. According to authorities in venereal diseases it is now recognized that 95-100 per cent of regular prostitutes are venereally affected, which

**Herself*, (Supra) page 116.

UNCLE SHAM.

implies that about three million men are exposed to this peril every day in the United States—what epidemic or pestilence could have greater opportunities of extension?

A few cases of cholera and tuberculosis—and society is alarmed, but when syphilis, gonorrhœa, canceroid, lurk round every corner, the attitude of society in the States is, in general, indifferent. If there are 300,000 prostitutes in the United States, if 95-100 per cent are venerally affected, if the average prostitute takes on the average ten men per day, it is simple arithmetic to see that three million men in the States run the risk daily of venereal disease. If Edith Hooker's statement is to be believed that the majority of men now live in clandestine promiscuity carrying the disease from one girl to another and these girls to other men, how far would we be wrong in assuming this evidence that apart from immorality and sexuality, the United States is a veneral plague spot? Says Dr. Lorbeer in his advice to young women:—

*"If you recall the prevalence of these diseases you will see that the probabilities are that any girl indulging in immoral relations will sooner or later contract one, probably at her first misstep."**

According to Dr. Morrow there is more venereal disease among virtuous and married women than among the women of the street.† According to Noeggerath it is 80 per cent. Morrow estimates that 60 per cent of married and unmarried men have gonorrhœa. According to Bernarr Macfadden it is 90 per cent among men. Allowing for discrepancies, these opinions throw a fierce light on the magnitude of the problem.

It is an interesting fact, recounted by the United States Census Bureau, that more Americans die every year from syphilis than any other disease, and the death rate for syphilis is equal to the death rate for all other diseases combined, bar tuberculosis. Gynaecologists in the United States are unanimous

**Herself*, (Supra) page 116.

†*Laws of Sex*, (Supra) page 159.

in declaring that fully 75 per cent of the major operations performed on the generative organs of married women are occasioned by gonorrhœa contracted from their husbands or other men :*

"Even those who are the loudest in their condemnation of divorce could not sanction marriage under certain conditions. I wonder if these people know that many of the divorces that are granted under the head of cruelty really are granted because one of the parties has contracted one of the loathsome black plagues. No humane person could condemn a woman for refusing to live with a man and take the almost certain risk of contracting a disease that would mean her death or mutilation. "†

When it is realised that a large proportion of the operations result in the complete sterility of the woman, the racial significance of gonorrhœa becomes apparent. The great increase of the amateur prostitute, the girl who loses her virginity at school, and continues her experiments in sex, the married woman who keeps appointments in the assignation or call house, the vast body of working women occupying trade or government appointments, who in their off hours combine business with pleasure, make the restriction and regulation of the venereal plague very difficult.

Some attempts have been made, and will be made, to regulate and control sexual intercourse and venereal disease. From the extent to which promiscuity and disease prevail, the effort will have to be a gigantic one. In most States fornication and adultery are crimes punishable with fine or imprisonment, but the law is a dead letter. There are provisions for the segregation of prostitutes, their registration and the report of venereal diseases—but Uncle Sam makes laws and regulations with far greater ease than he enforces them. The law on the subject is not merely virtually a dead letter, but a source of extortion and graft. Here is further comment on how Uncle Sam runs his democratic government :—

**Laws of Sex*, page 204.

†*Herself*, page 117.

*"It is in the enforcement of laws relative to sex, more often than in any other branch of activity, that our police have been criticized both by those who approved and those who disapproved their passage."**

As to the attitude of the administration on the matter of law enforcement the same author says :—

"The local administration, which is sworn to enforce the law, not infrequently finds itself out of sympathy with measures which have been passed."†

In this connection, Raymond B. Fosdick's recent work on American Police and State may be cited :—

"It suits the judgment of some and the temper of others to convert into crimes practices which they deem mischievous or unethical..... They resort to law to supply the deficiencies of other agencies, of social control. They attempt to govern by means of law things which in their nature do not admit of objective treatment and external coercion."‡

In Mr. Wollaston's opinion :—

"If the majority or even a considerable portion of the people do not wish to have a law enforced the task of the administration becomes extremely deficient. Thus enforcement of prohibition measures in many localities have become a farce and as a means of livelihood prostitution compares favourably with bootlegging and stock gambling.

"The most significant point in this connection is that the public is often willing to pay well for illegal indulgence, and those who profit by its weakness are able to share their generous returns with officials who permit the illegitimate business to continue. The mass of citizens may not be aware of evasions of the law, and the administration sometimes does not care to inform itself concerning such details. So the police, when left to exercise their judgment concerning the enforcement of unpopular measures, may decide to steer a middle course and permit vice resorts to run quietly, so long as there is no open disorder to bring scandal upon the community. Sometimes it is 'worth while' for

*Prostitution in the United States, page 205.

†Ibid.

‡American Police System, N. Y. Century Co., 1920,
pages 46-47.

them to agree to such violations of the law."*

As to the matter of corruption and the integrity of the custodians of the law, the same author says:—

"The corruption of patrolmen by the offering of bribes or contributions for protection has also been dealt with in various vice reports. The revelations of Inspector Schmittberger in the Lexow Investigation, the statements of Magistrate McAdoo, the findings of the Becker trial and of various police investigations leave no doubt as to the actual existence of bribery formerly in New York. Similar testimony might be cited in half a dozen other American cities. The writer personally met the agent who collected tribute for the boss in one of the mid-western cities, and many denizens of the underworld in the decade between 1860 and 1870, and that force has been active in all the years since..... One method employed to reap money from the courtesans was to order their houses to be raided each Saturday night and require twenty-five dollars per landlady and ten dollars per inmate. Quite a dozen houses would meet this trick each Saturday night, and this notwithstanding the fact that the house was paying its regular protection money. The money was divided amongst the police officials and the bosses."†

I might well conclude this chapter on grease spots by a reference to the vice conditions in New York and the large cities of the United States, as reported by the "Committee of Fourteen."

The Committee of Fourteen is an organization of private citizens which for a quarter of a century has employed salaried investigators all the year round to study vice conditions and work with the police for amelioration. Their annual report is considered the most authoritative comment on the conditions made from any source. In the document recently made public they assert the vice conditions in New York City are worse now than at any time in the past decade. The committee names "speak-easies" and night clubs, which, it says, have become centres of prostitution. Bootlegging is now so wellorganized that speak-easies and night clubs are no longer profitable merely

**Prostitution in the United States*, page 205.

†*Ibid*, page 219.

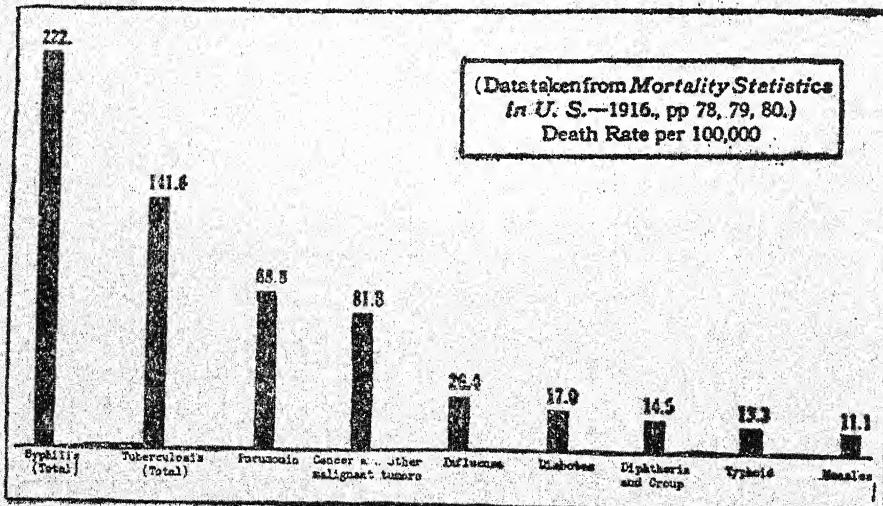
on the basis of the sale of liquor, and prostitution has been added. Thus, for the first time for fifteen years New York has numerous places where immoral women may meet prospective customers. The report says that these conditions prevail in nearly all night clubs and in almost every speak-easy. It also criticizes "closed dance halls," to which men go alone and dance with the "hostesses" provided by the management, the girls being paid a small fee for each dance. The report says that these places are breeders of immorality.

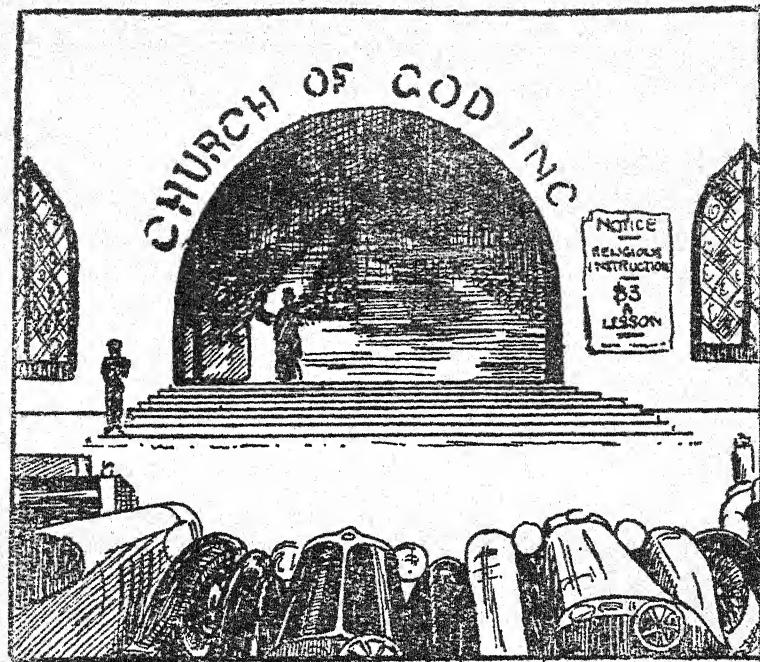
Writing recently in the New York *Graphic*, Congressman Fiorella Laguardia declared that there are 22,000 speak-easies in New York alone, and that they pay in bribes, for protection more than £5,000,000 annually. These estimates may be only guesses, but since that number of speak-easies would be only one for each 136 adults, every speak-easy paying in bribes less than £5 weekly, the statement seems not unreasonable.

Nevertheless, it is common knowledge that the general conditions described in the report exist. The present municipal administration was elected on the tacit understanding that the conditions would not be puritanical, and they are not.

The Grease Spot is therefore pretty big and messy.

Syphilis is the Greatest Killing Disease





CHAPTER XIV.

CHURCH OF COD INC.

A biography of Uncle Sam and his children would not be complete without some reference to their God, their church and their "deeply religious nature." If, however, the God of Uncle Sam, his sons and daughters is found to be not the God of Abraham nor the God of Isaac, nor the father of Jesus Christ; if the Church is discovered to be nothing better than a commercialised organisation of cant and humbug, and the deeply religious nature of the American people a mere sham, the reader must not be surprised.

If we borrow from the library a Latin dictionary, and turn to the letter "R," and look down the pages until we come to the word "religo," from which our modern word "religion" is derived, we find this definition: "to bind back, to bind fast." The definition suggests the original genius and purpose of religion, that of binding peoples together in a common moral quest and experience: the common quest being the supernatural and post-earthly redemption and regulation by certain moral

laws and a code of personal ethics. But as we trace the evolution of religion through the ages, we find that far from being a uniting force, religion has, on the contrary, been a potent cause of the most violent divisions and conflicts. Few crimes have not been committed in the name of religion. It has divided Protestant Christianity into hundreds of competing and warring sects. Where religion unites, it is a unity in bigotry, in ignorance and intolerance. This is true not merely of America, but of every country where religion is made a fetish and God a superstition.

"Of course, America believes in God." exclaimed the Milwaukee *Journal* with relief and satisfaction when the results of a questionnaire conducted by 200 newspapers was announced.* The questionnaire was at the instance of the *Church Advertising Department* of the International Advertising Association of America. The questionnaire prepared by a committee of 100 clergymen was sent out "to find out what America believes about fundamental religious questions," and as a preliminary to a nation-wide campaign to stimulate church membership. The survey represented, of course, a very thin slice of the total population, but it was taken by the army of editors who commented upon it, as sufficiently representative of the general trend of opinion and a fair basis of conclusion. Of 125,000 people who answered, 91 per cent expressed a belief in God, but only 77 per cent said they were active church members, 85 per cent regarded the Bible as inspired but only 42 per cent had any kind of family worship in the home. The questionnaire proved that orthodoxy still prevailed in the United States, but also that less Americans go to church than believe in God. As the director of the religious census Dr. Stelzle said, "The returns from the questionnaire show us that religion in America is on the whole very conservative. The people are not bothered very much by the doubts of the high brows and wise guys. When it comes to religion they are as old-fashioned as ever."

The results of the census raised ample enthusiasm and

**Literary Digest*, 15th January 1927.

conscientious satisfaction in the country—"America believes in God," and "God is for most of us the very beginning and centre of the extreme verities," are two specimens of the general satisfaction which, in magnitude and expression, was hundred per cent American. Only one paper, be it noted, the Grand Rapids *Press* had the courage to indicate the difficulty suggested by the questionnaire of closing up the discrepancy between the number of people who were willing to profess a passive belief and the number who are able to translate that belief into the vital control and inspiration in life. In the opinion of the *Press* :—

*"The answers to the questionnaire do not prove the United States a Christian or even a religious nation. Superstitious savages whose lives are absolutely regulated by their fears and faiths are far more 'religious.' The test is one, not of profession but of results. A 90 or 95 per cent 'pro' vote for the existence of God is, in America, nothing to be particularly proud of, but rather a challenge to make something vital out of a favourable checkmark on a sheet of paper."**

This is the problem in a nutshell. How near is the profession to the practice? We find from the census that over 90 per cent believe in God, 77 per cent attend church, 85 per cent believe in the divinity of Jesus, an equal proportion believe in the inspiration of the Bible and 87 per cent consider religion a necessary element of human life. Even disregarding the discrepancies between these percentages and the probable conclusions and inferences deducible therefrom, if these figures told a truthful story, a story corroborated by the other evidence available, America has indeed reason to be proud of her civilization and her national and spiritual life. But how many who believe in God, follow the way and spirit of God? How many of those who are convinced of the divinity of Jesus Christ act up to the standard of his doctrines and the moral precepts of his life? And what ratio of the colossal percentage of the believers in the inspiration of the Bible translate the ten Commandments into their daily lives?

*Literary Digest, 15th January 1927.

Until the historical studies of the 19th Century tended to obliterate the earlier classification of religion as religions true and religions false, religion was taken to be a body of intellectual conclusions mainly about God, Providence and Immortality. Christianity was defined as the one true religion on the assumption that all the others were false. This reason or classification had to be rejected because of historical and scientific discovery establishing that religions are not theories or information, and, therefore, no question regarding them could be reduced to mere logical truth and falsehood. Though missionaries and the uneducated still classify religion in the old way, there is a gathering body of intelligent opinion in favour of a more sensible classification.

Siebeck attempted a classification according to value: (1) the beginning of religion, (2) religions of morality, (3) religions of redemption. The last is taken to be the highest class, and Christianity the highest in it, because while there are other religions of redemption, Christianity is the sole positive provision for it, Christianity would still be the one and true religion. But all religions are religions of redemption, and only when we see this, do we understand how religion differs from mere intellectual opinion. All religions, even the crudest are pessimistic of human life and world face value, and in some way wish to find a greater security and a greater good. Buddhism and Hinduism find it in the suppression of human desires which are assumed to be the cause of all ills. If there are no desires, there can be no consequences of such desires, a logical and convincing, but not very inspiring, theory of redemption. Christianity is very much the religion of redemption by positive conduct—rules of morality, ethics well defined as clean and unclean and a God much concerned with the victory of the good, understood as the clean. The reward for such victory is the Kingdom of Heaven. Apart from the necessity of clean moral conduct the rules regulating the award are the beliefs of the Divinity of Christ, the Fatherhood of God and the Trinity of the Holy Spirit with Father and Son.

The history of Christianity in America is the history of

the bigotry of the promise of redemption, but an almost entire rejection of the rules of morality that govern this redemption. The Christianity of America from general evidence appears to be a mere lip worship of Christ, the piety and honesty of the Pharisee. Ninety-one per cent of the American Continent may believe in God and even 77 per cent go to church, but it would be interesting to find what percentage regulate their lives according to the precepts of the Bible or the teachings of Jesus Christ.

Though the most amazing bigotry occurs over the inspiration of the Bible, yet this bigotry is apparently reconcilable with an utter laxity over the rules of Christian belief and morals. One of the most important rules first of Judiasm, then of Christianity and later echoed in Islam is:—

“Thou shalt have none other Gods before me.”

But America is greater than God.

President Coolidge in 1925 in a radio-address to the boy scouts urged them to venerate first the law of the land and God next. During the War the Kaiser was criticized and condemned for referring to God as secondary—me und Gott—but the President of the United States may put America before God with impunity. When a clergyman attending a Methodist Conference in St. Mark's Church, Ocean Avenue, Brooklyn in 1917 dared to say: “If I have to choose between my country and my God, I have made up my mind to choose God. I am an American, but a Christian first,” five hundred of his clerical colleagues hooted him down, and refused to allow him to finish his speech. Religion in America has become a mere sub-department of patriotism. “In God we trust,” is inscribed on every cent piece. One hundreds cents make a dollar. But the dollar can do without God. Or rather the almighty American dollar is God.

Can anyone who goes through the record with an open mind pretend that the history of Christian America shows anything but a determined and consistent rejection of the teachings of Jesus? Or will any candid person find any trace of the self-sacrificing Christ in the materialistic America of to-day?

Tolerance is one of the great lessons that Christ endeavoured to teach. The tale of the Samaritan, the stoning of the harlot, the forgiveness by Christ of his enemies, in his last moments, "Lord! they know not what they do," are peaks of idealism unmatched and isolated in the history of religion. "Blessed are the meek," said the Founder of Christianity, "for they shall inherit the Kingdom of Heaven." But how poorly does American life and thought stand out against this background of Christian teaching?

We have already seen that priests are not above scdomy or highway robbery or murder. Striking evidence of the mentality of the Church was exhibited at the Annual Unitarian Convention held in Tremont Temple in 1919, after the Armistice, when President Wilson was endeavouring to persuade the world to be just and merciful. Henry W. Penkham quoted before this great gathering of clerics and religious enthusiasts the Text: "If thine enemy hunger, feed him, if he thirst, give him drink." This quotation from the Scripture was howled and hissed at by this Assembly of Fundamentalist Christians. For a similar expression at an earlier Convention, Mr. Penkham was publicly told that his soul needed washing in carbolic acid. Contrast the story of the Samaritan with its moral equivalent in Vicksburg (Miss):—

*"The Negro was hauled up five feet but slipped back. The sight of the nude body rising above the crowd increased the excitement. 'Shoot him!' someone called....'No, no,' came the answer, 'let him die slow.' Seeing that he was merely suffering discomfort, men below began to jerk his legs. Others smeared kerosene upon the body, while others prepared a bonfire below. The Negro assumed an attitude of prayer, raising his hands, palms together. The whole affair was witnessed by many ladies who followed the mob from the jail, and by others who joined it on the terraces near by."**

"Thou shalt not steal," says the unsophisticated Bible and yet:—

"The boys brought before me for theft came for the

*Americana 1925, page 135.

most part from the best day schools, the best Sunday schools, and many of them from boys' organizations that are nationally known,—agencies, one and all, supposed to make men of them.”*

Like father, like son. The father picks the pockets of State or Federal Departments or of the Town Corporation; the son that of the school chum, the master or the tuck shop. The son goes to a Sunday school; father to Church.

“ *Thou shalt not kill*,” says another Commandment. In Detroit alone, according to the Hon. Wayland D. Stearns, there are ten times as many murders as in the whole of England.† One of the boasts of Chicago is that it has a higher murder rate than any other large city in the world.‡ Rural Louisiana is mainly Methodist and puritanical and runs barbarous lynchings.§ West Virginia is noted for its blood feuds and assassinations which are common.¶ Under the mask of the Klan, primeval barbarism and cruelty are practised and revelations find clergymen in active participation.

“ *Thou shalt not commit adultery*.” We have seen that half the people who marry divorce within two years of the matrimonial ceremony. There is evidence that polygamy is common and polyandry a fashion. We have already seen how virginity is raped, how wives live in adultery and how extensive is Negro-white liaison, we have had evidence of wild sowing and wilder harvesting. America observes few Commandments, but, least of all, the injunctions set out in the 6th Commandment.

Christian progress in St. Louis was recently described in the famous *New York Times* :—

“ *Her thirteenth divorce was granted to Mrs. Cora Yates in the City Court to-day. Witnesses testified that her*

**The Revolt of Modern Youth*, page 97.

†*Americana* 1925, page 123.

‡*Ibid*, page 290.

§*Ibid*, page 291.

¶*Ibid*, page 299.

husband, Alexander Yates, had been unfaithful. In the same court, on December 11th last, Mrs. Yates obtained divorce from Albert Lilley, to whom she had been married three times. He was found guilty of extreme and repeated cruelty. Before her first marriage to Lilley that woman had been wedded to nine different men, and in the course of her marital career, she had answered to the names of Walker, Trunker, Joyce, Barnes, Butcher, Crow, Whitney, Lilley, Porter, Swanson and Yates."

Not an unusual occurrence. How could such an occurrence be unusual when girls are necked at fifteen, perhaps at eight, continue to be necked by different men till twenty, and then revert to the new interpretation of 20th Century morals after two years' married life. Is adultery no longer a sin upon which God Almighty looks with disapproval?

"Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife, etc.," and yet United States crime statistics show a marked increase in cases of criminal assault in recent years. Further evidence of the Christian conduct of the 100 per cent American.

Alongside this wholesale rejection of Christian morals and ethics, we find an amazing bigotry and intolerance of the secondary details of Christianity. Thus upon the subject of the origin of the Bible, there is a striking consensus of perversion. The New York Sun sought answers to the questions—should Christianity and the Bible be debated from a public platform? The following were typical of the replies received:—

1. Frank Mieller, M.D., 100 East Seventy-fourth Street—I am not in favour of any discussion of Christianity on any public platform, especially on the authenticity of the word of God. Modernism and materialism and even the old Babylonian philosophy are being taught in many places in the country.

2. H. Harris, retired business man, 56 Concord Street, Brooklyn—Absolutely no. The Bible, the living word of God, has stood the test of centuries.

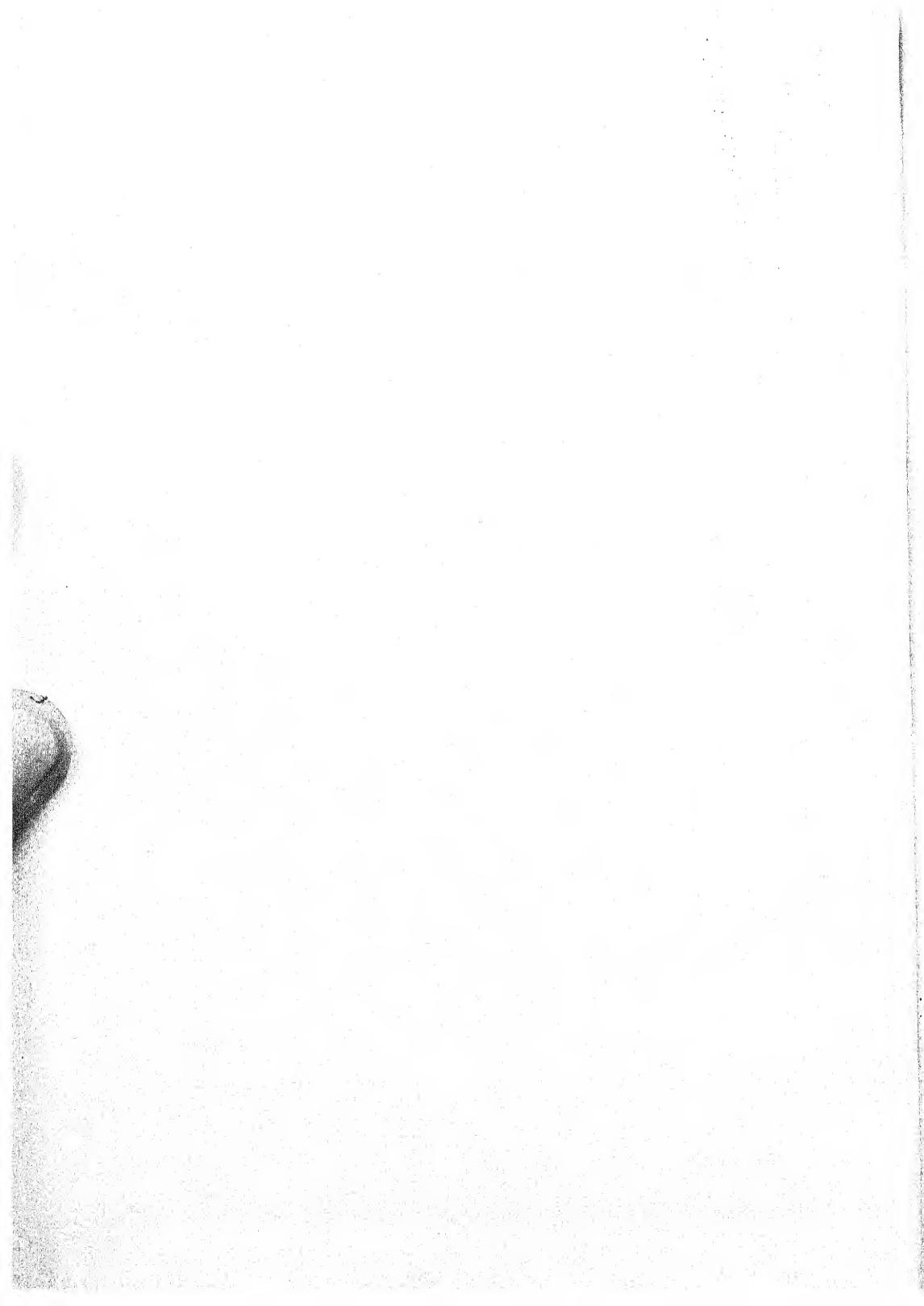
3. Turner A. Monroe, accountant, 120 Broadway—I believe that instead of an argument on the truth of the Bible, on a public platform the preachers should teach the gospel as it is written. The Bible will take care of itself.



THE 6TH COMMANDMENT.

H. I. e. C.

"A prominent reformer is reported to have said that fully one-third of the married population of New York is unfaithful to the physical obligation. And New York is not so very different from other parts of the country."



4. J. C. Clark, restauranteur, 135 West Forty-seventh Street—Everybody has a right to his own opinion. Free speech is allowed in this country, but to discuss on a public platform the truth of the Bible is going too far. I do not approve of it.

5. P. De Fliese, banking, 120 Broadway—I see no occasion for any debate or discussion as to the truth of the Bible. It is the only record we have and Christianity stands or falls on its authenticity.

A famous Trinidad divine is responsible for the following example of American transcendental logic :—

“ Mortal man never wrote the Bible. A good man could not have written the Bible, and a bad man would not have written it if he could. A good man could not have written it because the Bible tells us 2,008 times that God himself is the author; therefore, if man wrote the Bible, he is a greater liar, and, therefore, was not a good man. And a bad man would not have written the Bible if he could, because it tells him what he is, and that is the thing he isn’t wanting to believe, because if he did he could not sleep at nights as long as he remained unsaved and unrepentant.”

The *Lookout Magazine of Christian Education* in an editorial bitterly protested :—

“ Every college in America is teaching heathenism by having in its curriculum Tacitus, Virgil, Homer, Sophocles, Euripides, Æschylus, Plato and Aristotle. The minute you suggest using the writings of Matthew, Mark, Luke, John, Paul, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel or any of the rest of this noble group the education nostrils elevate the ninetieth degree of altitude. Yet the Christians of America are paying taxes and contributing the money that keep college doors open.”

Some space has been taken up by these instances representative of American bigotry in the matter of theological beliefs. Modern science and research has amply proved the Bible a spurious record for historical purposes. Certain incidents have a spiritual and moral significance and that is all.

The theory of Creation, of Adam and Eve and the making of the world according to Genesis is no more than 6,000 years old. The discovery of physotaur skulls from the gorges of the Canyons of Colorado places the age of the world at more than 75,000,000 years, even at which remote time, according to these discoveries, the process of evolution was at work. Other evidence knocks many planks out of the veracity of the Bible as a historical record. The value of the Bible, like the Koran and other books of a religious and "inspired" origin, is to be found in didactic and moral incidentalization. But of course, the moral and the purpose are forgotten and bigotry is fashionable upon the form rather than the substance.

We hear so much in these days about the charlatans. Especially is this magnified in the churches in relation to all things of a progressive nature. A charlatan is one who robs through false pretensions. Just because you differ from your neighbour in your point of view does not license you to call him a charlatan. Yet we hear the hateful word on the lips of those who proclaim themselves leaders of world thought.

The great cathedrals erected for the assembling of those who would learn of a life after death are monuments as to the cause of charlatany, if we accept the viewpoint of those who differ from them in their belief concerning Salvation, Heaven and Hell. A pretender is one who presents a proposition about which he cannot produce facts. This being the case, who among us are not charlatans, if we are asked to produce evidence that will prove to another the things which only our eyes can see, or our ears can hear?

American missionaries fail utterly to produce evidence of the salvation of which they boast, yet the law upholds them in their meddling with the affairs of the people who believe otherwise, under the guise of bringing souls to God.

A little thought and one sees clearly that the claim that the old faith is still strong in America is a bogus claim. It is not difficult to understand the wherefore of the Church losing its independent hold on American life, and becoming dovetailed into

American political institutions. Beset by purely material problems the American financiers of the 18th and 19th Centuries had no time for a purely speculative and traditional faith and in cutting loose from the European tradition they cut loose from all that was left of reality in the Christian religion. The Catholic custom of making spiritual benefits whether for the living or for the dead dependant on the payment of hard cash, the Non-conformist and Protestant promise of redemption on contribution to the funds of the Church and the propagation of the Gospel among the heathens, were both in line with the American dollar mentality. They fitted in admirably with the corruption of political and private life for they encouraged the idea that the corruptest politician, or worst moral delinquent could set himself right with his God if he could afford God's price: once he has bought himself into good standing with his Creator, his conduct is beyond the pale of scrutiny.

These and other causes have contributed to the loss of prestige of the Church in America, and not the least has been, according to Bishop Fiske, its narrowness, ignorance and puritanical censoriousness. The Congregation and its pastor both lack spiritual power: the Bishop would not be known as a clergyman and would rather exchange his clerical garb for mufti and sit in a smoking car with ordinary men.*

What is most distinctive in the ethical outlook of the ordinary citizen of the United States is connected with the unwholesome sex precocity which is deliberately encouraged, from school life, and with the statesman psychology which prevades the entire life of the country.

It is not unusual to see capable and well trained professional men with good technical qualifications abandon their walks of life as engineers, chemists, doctors, lawyers for the more fashionable profession of salesmanship.

In America for a thing to be a business proposition, it must be sold with all the resources and devices of salesmanship.

**Literary Digest*, October 15th, 1926.

Even religion has to be "sold." In recent years, both religious and secular editorial writers have devoted a good deal of attention to the inefficiency of the clergy who are not "selling Christianity" to their congregation as they would if they studied the principles of advertising. Thus the *Boston Herald* :—

"We do know that the advertising business is attracting many able young men, for it is a growing business and increasingly influential. We hear that everything must be "sold" these days. The President has to "sell" his policies; the colleges have to "sell" their instruction; art has to "sell" its creations; not merely do merchants have to sell their wares, some of the finest and cleanest philanthropic enterprises in the world are experts in advertising. Why not apply the idea to the sermon? Preachers must "sweat" blood in the produce of good sermons then sell them to the public."

The following specimen advertisements from the *Moody Bible Institute Monthly* of Chicago shows how the religion of God is made available to church-going Americans :—

ROLLING MILL EVANGELIST. Formerly Rolling Mill Manager. Open for engagements. Geo. W. Jacoby, Primos, Pa., Box 34.

REV. CHARLES E. DRIVER. Safe, Constructive Evangelism. Formerly Pastor. Experienced evangelist, eminently successful. Finest Testimonials. Write for open dates. Palmyra, N.Y.

EVANGELIST AND BIBLE TEACHER, Jonas Vuker, with 28 years' experience as a pastor-evangelist and Bible teacher, has some open dates for evangelistic meetings or Bible Conferences, single or union meetings. For dates, references, etc., address Springfield, Ohio.

SEND YOUR DOLLAR TO-DAY AND HELP TRAIN A BRIGHT Chinese boy to become a preacher to his own people. God will bless you. All remittances acknowledged. Personal checks acceptable. (China postage five cents.) Rev. H. G. Miller, Wuchow, Kwangai, China.

WANTED NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF CHRISTIAN PEOPLE who will promise to pray for a revival to sweep over Arizona. Robert McMurdo, Peoria, Ariz. \$250,000 IN UNREAL MONEY. 250 TEN DOLLAR BILLS with Gospel Message on reverse side, 25c. Also free samples of other novelties. Gospel Co., Strapleton, N.Y.*

A preacher who has acquired the knowledge of " selling " his sermons has no difficulty in getting large and remunerative congregations. Thus Rev. B. G. Hodge of Owensboro, Kansas, got a huge congregation when he announced in the local *Messenger* his sabbath sermon :—

" Solomon a six cylinder sport. Could you handle as many wives and concubines as this ' Old Bird ' ? Rev. B. G. Hodge will proceed on this subject Sunday night at Seattle Memorial. You are welcome." †

As to how the Holy Spirit rewarded an enterprising Pastor of Saco, Maine, was reported in a press despatch :—

" Mr. Walker pastor of the First Congregational Church, prints his church calendar in all the colours of the rainbow, and sends them every week to more than 2,000 people. He plasters the countryside with his slogans. Newspapers carry big display ads. Spotlights play on the church steeple. Soft, yellow light floods the pulpit at sermon time, the rest of the church being dark. Every night in the week in the parish house there are dancing, radio programmes, pool, cards and meetings of all kinds. The young people fairly swarm there. Two years ago the average attendance was fifty. To-day it exceeds 1,000." ‡

The spotlight method is apparently a successful method for the propagation of Christian knowledge :—

" Griffin, Pastor of the Rogers Park Baptist Church, Hilldale and Greenleaf Avenues, exhibited five types of girls to his audience. His subject was ' The Kind of Girl to Marry.' Each one of the young women stepped into a framework of flowers and tissue paper lattice work which

*Americana 1925, (Supra) page 65.

†Ibid, page 89.

‡Ibid, page 103.

had been arranged in the front of the church over the bap-tistry, while a spotlight was turned on."*

The following shows how the good word of God is propagated in the great city of Kalamazoo, Mich :—

SUNDAY NIGHT SURPRISE.

Cheerful ushers show you to comfortable seats. Bright illumination greets you. At 7 sharp Mr. Klump leads the RE-JOY-SING of gospel songs—and how everyone sings ! Then comes an inspiring selection by vested

CHORUS CHOIR.

In a few moments, toctoc, lights are dimmed and a spotlight shines on Dr. G. H. Pastor, who speaks briefly on—

" *The seven Modern Wonders of the world.*"

An evangelistic sermon—absolutely ! As the pastor concludes the pipe organ (played by a talented lad in his teens) is heard and now the rich contralto voice of Loreen Schricker sings to you. Then—lights on ! And as you leave the church, the latest copy of a popular 25c. magazine is handed you with the compliments of the publishers. Yes, this is free—but aren't life's greatest things—pure air, sunshine, love, laughter and religion all free, too?

GIFT NIGHT TO-MORROW

SUNDAY AT 7-00

FIRST BAPTIST CHURCH

" *In the Heart of the City.*"†

Another aspect of the Gospels as reported by the Wheeling Register :—

" The following questions will be discussed Sunday evening by the Rev. William Elliott Hammon, pastor of the Way Temple :—

What was the result of your personal interview with Fatty Arbuckle?

Tell us what Arbuckle said when you asked him the secret of his reducing 80 pounds.

Should girls with big feet be dentists?

**Americana* 1925, (Supra) page 103.

†*Ibid.* page 126.

Do the things buried with the dead affect the soul?

What do you think of Raymond Hitchcock's pet superstitions?

Will mental concentration on our spirit friends attract them to us?

Does constant grief over the death of a loved one affect the soul of the departed one?

Should the United States prepare for the next war?**

From these and other instances, it would appear that the church in America is a great warehouse, a great business organization where salesmanship counts far more than morality or ethics. The religion of God has to be sold. If theatrical devices have to be adopted what matter so long as large congregations are drawn, large subscriptions raised and substantial collections are made? God, Christ and the Bible are the objects in the Memorandum of Association of the *Church of God-Incorporated*, promoted by ministers and clerics and other "professional members of the society of moral upholders." The more efficiently and dramatically are the objects pushed, the larger are the dividends. The dividends of the Church of God Inc. are not dividends in kind, not moral uplift, not alleviation of suffering, the dividends are dividends in cash distributed among the "snoopers and obscurantists who abound in the Church" and "whose ignorance and vulgarity is profound" that "one is ashamed," says Bishop Fiske, "at times to be known as clergymen."†

If the testimony of Bishop Fiske and other writers is to be believed that the Church has lost its prestige inspite of salesmanship and dividend-earning devices, that there is a general downgrade tendency, spiritually, intellectually and morally no elaborate comment is necessary on the results of the census of the Church Advertising Department in which 77 per cent was

**Americana* 1925, (Supra) page 269.

†See *Literary Digest*, 16th October 1926.

found to be the active Church membership and 91 per cent believers in God.

The more one looks into the question, the less does one find to support the figures of the census above referred to. There is evidence that America abounds in orthodoxy, a strong complex of exploded theories, it abounds in a censorious, rigid, inflexible, prejudiced ministerial profession, one hears every day of the close association of United States with the Kingdom of Heaven, we hear that 91 per cent believe in God, 85 per cent in Jesus and the Bible, and as many as 77 per cent believers go to church regularly. But if you want the truth, the bare honest truth, shorn of humbug and hypocrisy, America is un-Christian, America is ungodly, America is heathen, America is a country running wild with cant, perversion and every sin damned from Adam and Eve to the twelve Apostles.

One might legitimately praise American industry, American push, American initiative, but if American life, American morals, American honesty and American ethics are examples of Christian conduct, then the earlier the Bible is publicly burnt and the Church steeples are dismantled, the better. Alongside all the blasphemy and puritanical regulation of morals are permitted exhibitions so disgusting and silly that they would not be tolerated by public opinion in any other country of the world :—

"Cony Island has a million "amusements," each of them the only one of its kind on earth, and the greatest educational feature ever presented..... But at the one old stand, every Cony Islander gets his money's worth. That is Steeplechase Park. Steeplechase Park is called the funny place. Everything to give you the giggles..... The central attraction is "Comedy Lane" and the central attraction of Comedy Lane is a spot where a current of wind is suddenly turned on beneath the skirts of each woman who passes....."

"The 'Lane' was on a stage, entered from the rear. The entrants were unaware that they were to appear on a stage, before an audience of several hundred men; the attraction was listed on their combination tickets, and they

just naturally took it in. As they passed across the stage, however, the big surprise was sprung. Twenty or thirty of them every minute, each having her skirts blown skyward by that sudden mighty wind.

"At every extra gust a yell of delight arose from the audience."

"Burlesk" is another very popular form of amusement of Christian America:—

"The chief feature of this show when I was there was undressing on the stage. The leader of the chorus, although but slightly robed, had five or six tiny garments which she could remove and still remain covered by police regulations. She and her troupe sang a popular song over and over again, dancing and posing, and at each repetition she divested herself of part of her clothes, rapturously encouraged by the audience. The men knew by experience that she would never completely undress but cheated themselves into thinking that she might. Supposed not to like torment and illusion of this kind, they nevertheless applaud it. When the lady gets to a gossamer wrapping over a triangle of white linen the chorus whisk off scenes and the curtain drops down before the eyes. "Bou, didn't that get you, how will ye sleep to-night after that?"

"The theatre is filled with stout unexercised young men. They are male enough to produce a rather goatish atmosphere. They seem physically uneasy and they wriggle in their tight ready-made clothes. There is something superheated about them and they communicate it to the stuffy air. But what a gross show! It is said that a girl has to weigh 150 lbs. to get a job in the chorus. The public eats the fat women with their eyes. They are crows and this is their carrion. The Celt and Anglo-Saxon like a glimpse of an aesthetic thigh; the Jew and the Slav like the full expanse of the broad bosom.....

"The big chorus came out and did ventral serpentes. The functionless and yet most lovely part of a woman's body fascinated like so many fixed sports. No wonder Solomon praised it in his beloved. But it seems terrible to expose it to unbelievers. It belongs to the artist, the lover and to God. And contortionism of any kind is loathsome. It is not only that, but it is unpardonable that women should

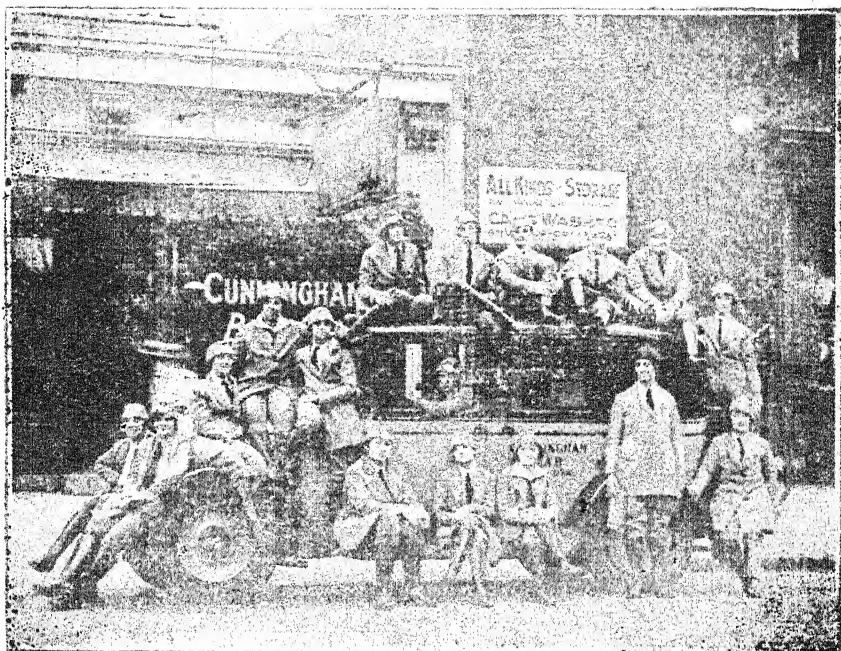
exploit their charms for the sake of brutal laughter.....

"The chorus with pink tassels attached to their nipples make their breasts revolve so that they look like electric fans in motion. The 'Kike' audience looks on with broad grins."

Of the country in which such things happen, in which moral deterioration is pronounced, where dens of infamy abound, where women take delight in street lynchings, where soldiers openly threaten the country women with raid and rape, where priests are accomplices in murder, where the marriage relation is made ridiculous and where sex stimulation is maximum, where there are more imposters than anywhere on the face of the globe, where there are more cults and isms, more psychic manifestations and delusions than in any other country, possibly, in the entire world, where the law of the land is held absurd and openly violated, where savage sentences are inflicted for minor crimes and the major offences are lightly treated, where censuses are faked, it takes an American to say that "the United States to-day is the great moral giant of history." But the voice of the Presidential aspirant is the voice of a 100 per cent Americanism, the voice of 100 per cent bluff. Only now and again we come across some one who is willing to expose the bare and unvarnished truth.

This is how the poet Claud McKay sums up the great moral giant of history, the 100 per cent American, the 91 per cent believer in God and the 77 per cent church-goer:—

"In his (Chrisfied from Indiana who stands clear as the highest composite type of the United States civilization) is embodied the new war strength of America that means to trample over all the cultural values of life in the West Indies, the Phillipines, Europe and the East armed with Yankee bluff and money power. His is the terrible, vital soul of lynchings, mob chivalry, the posse, resthouse, movies, Billy Sundayism, strike breaking forms, state constabulary, election campaign thugs, the American Street. A strong sentimental ape man, who refuses to use his intellect under any circumstances and touches everything that is fine in civilized life, friendship, sex, duty with the hand of the brute."



CHAUFFERETTES POSING BEFORE STARTING OUT WITH THEIR CARS IN PHILADELPHIA.

"The economic independence of women and race immorality are no cause to effect."



ONE OF PHILADELPHIA'S WOMEN TAXICAB DRIVERS.

1,738 Ram Deaths in 11 Cities Reported in Year; City's Total Up to 724

HEAD-LINE IN THE NEW YORK WORLD. DECEMBER 30

CHAPTER XV.

AN EXPERIMENT IN ANARCHY.

When the epithet "Murder" is hurled at the Government of the United States, not by "Red" tub thumpers, or May-day orators, but responsible and sober representatives, such as Judges, normally conservative journalists, and elected representatives in the Legislatures of the American democracy, the event justifies a passing reference.

We are not concerned directly or indirectly with the merits and demerits of the problem of Prohibition. This question has been debated by abler minds: there will always be a distinct cleavage of opinion whether the State is entitled to interfere with private rights, and whether prohibition, or regulation of private conduct can be satisfactorily carried out by the agencies of State control. But there can be no doubt that the problem of drink is one of the main problems of our present day civilization. It is not disputed that drink is generally the forerunner of most major vices—prostitution, adultery, rape, sodomy, theft, gambling—and its effects are frequently the ruination of the home, the destruction of family life and the corruption of private morals. All these arguments and many more were hurled at the American people by the Anti-Saloon League of America in the greatest social campaign of history. For many years prior

to the passing of the Eighteenth Amendment, the great campaign against Saloons was waged and the League spent many million dollars every year for the furtherance of the aims of the League. It is estimated the propaganda up to 1919 cost fifty million dollars and between 1919 to 1925 a further thirteen million dollars. The volume of prohibition literature amounted to seven and a half thousand million pages, equal to a library of over fifteen million volumes of five hundred pages each.

The assistance of the churches and the assistance of women was co-opted in the war on drink. The prohibition forces won. The victory was, however, shortlived. No sooner had the Eighteenth Amendment been passed, than there arose a desperate effort to nullify it. The wet forces were augmented by the *nouveau riche* of the war, by opinion in the universities and schools, where there was developing a new set of fast young men and faster young women, and by the press.

The Eighteenth Amendment defined "prohibition" in clear, concise and adequate language. It enacted that "..... the manufacture, sale or transportation of intoxicating liquor within, the importation thereof into or the exportation thereof from the United States and territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes is hereby forbidden." The meaning of the Section was quite clear. Prohibition meant, simply that no one was permitted to make use, or carry about intoxicating drinks.

Has prohibition been sincerely enforced? Sincerely means genuinely and honestly. The Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead Act appear genuine and honest enough. The lines of conduct which were to be followed by law-abiding citizens were clearly demarcated. The Amendment was ratified by forty-six States. Only Connecticut and Rhode Islands did not ratify. All other States passed enforcement Acts to aid in the concurrent enforcement of the Amendment. New York is the only State which has repealed its Enforcement Act.

The enforcement of the Amendment and the Volstead Act called for nothing new in legal methods or processes. It required

apparently nothing new in criminal law nor did it demand any innovation in criminal procedure. The existing machinery for law enforcement was adequate for the purpose of the new enactments. It was possible to have both sincere and effective enforcement of the law throughout the territories of the United States.

Enforcement may mean two things.

The first meaning of "enforcement" is obedience to the laws of the State as enacted. The duty of obedience is imposed upon all citizens and officials within the territorial limits of the United States jurisdiction. To this effect the Supreme Court of the United States ruled :—

*"This amendment is operative throughout the entire territorial limits of the United States, binds all legislative bodies, courts, public officers and individuals within those limits, and of its own force invalidates every legislative act, whether by Congress, by a State Legislature or by a Territorial Assembly, which authorises or sanctions what the amendment prohibits."**

No one, therefore, is above or outside the operation of the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead Act, which have the same comprehensive authority.

The Eighteenth Amendment was ratified on January 16th, 1919. The Amendment was a sincere, though roundabout, method of dealing with an admittedly grave problem. The results have proved, once more, that in dealing with social problems, it is far more satisfactory to legislate against the evil directly, than by a flank attack. While the Amendment prohibited in clear and equivocal terms, the manufacture, sale or transportation of intoxicating liquors, it did not face the problem directly by prohibiting the use of intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes. In the matter of adultery and sodomy the State has penalised the act of intercourse, not the hiring, manufacture or selling of the beds, quilts, pillows and other things that are a necessary adjunct to the commission of the offence. It is quite

**National Prohibition Cases, 253 vs. 350.*

legitimate, therefore, to question, if liquor drinking is not a crime sufficient to warrant a law to forbid it, why the sale, manufacture or transportation of liquor should be an offence? Drunkenness, the scourge, remains an unchecked evil. The means of combating it has become the dividing line of American life, political and private.

The contempt of the Constitution began with Congress. The Eighteenth Amendment became effective on the 16th January 1919. Within seven months Congress proceeded to disregard the Amendment. The Constitution made clear that the sale of intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes was forbidden without exception or qualification. The Enforcement Act (Volstead Act) was passed by the House of Representatives on July 22nd and by the Senate on September 4th, and again on October 27th over the veto of President Wilson. The Eighteenth Amendment forbade the sale for *all* beverage purposes; the Volstead Act proceeded to admit exceptions such as Sacramental and medicinal beverage. Congress may, therefore, be said to have itself set the example of disobedience to the Constitution.

Since Prohibition was made mandatory, much has been said and printed about it. During these nine or ten years there has been scarcely an issue of a daily American paper, which has failed to mention some aspect or event concerning the enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment.

Not long ago a Senatorial Committee heard the "Wet" and "Dry" sides of the national controversy over the effects of prohibition. Commander Booth, a representative Dry, presenting his side of the case, stated:—

"There has always been a marked affinity between the drink and the degradation of womanhood. In the old days the house of shame and the saloon were often under one roof. The wine-room seduction once so frequent is now a thing of the past. Let us bless the law that has thrown this protection around the path of American womanhood, for higher than the probity and nobility of its womanhood our great nation can never rise."

"My executive officer for settlement work tells me

that children in our day nurseries and kindergartens come to us noticeably better fed, better clothed, healthier, happier, and more teachable.

“ To debit the Prohibition Law with the onus and the shame of all the violations that abound is tantamount to charging that the Holy Commandments of God are responsible for the wickedness of mankind. The suggestion is preposterous.”*

Mr. Francis Scott McBride, writing recently in *Current History*, was of much the same opinion:—

“ The average citizen recalls his own youth, and thanks God that his children are living under different social conditions, dismisses the Wet appeals as so much brewers’ propaganda and adds one more vote to the growing Dry majority the next time he goes to the ballot-box. This nation is Dry. It is getting Drier. It will be the Driest nation the world has ever seen. Nothing can stop that.”†

Rhetoric abounds more in the arguments of Dry propagandists than in those of the Wets, who appear, on the facts, to carry off the palm. Let it not be understood that the writer has the slightest sympathy for the Wet side of the case. On the contrary, he has always been a teetotaler and a prohibitionist, but facts must be admitted. He considers national and private prosperity wedded to a rigorous avoidance of drink. It is, therefore, with additional regret that it has to be admitted that prohibition in the United States has failed and failed badly.

In considering the reasons why prohibition has not succeeded, it is unnecessary to enter into the merits of the proposition. We have merely to look to the objects of the Statute, the meaning and intent of the legislation, to discover from a considerable mass of evidence whether the results have proved a success. We have to ask ourselves whether the Constitution has been obeyed, whether disobedience has been adequately punished, whether there is less drinking now than formerly, whether there is any perceptible decrease in deaths from alcoholism

*Vide *Literary Digest*, 1st May 1926.

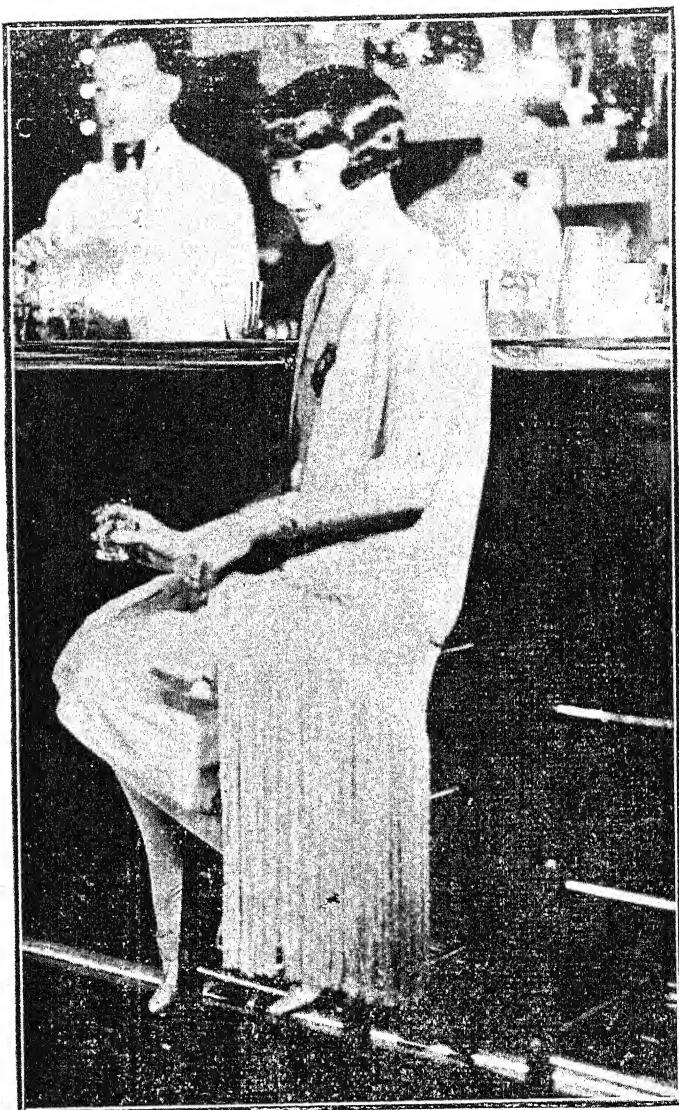
†April 1928.

or in crime originating in drink, and finally whether immorality is on the wane, and there is a generally better and more enlightened public atmosphere?

The facts, however, prove (1) defiance by the masses, (2) absence of enforcement in either sense, (3) marked increase in crime, and (4) more deaths from alcoholism.

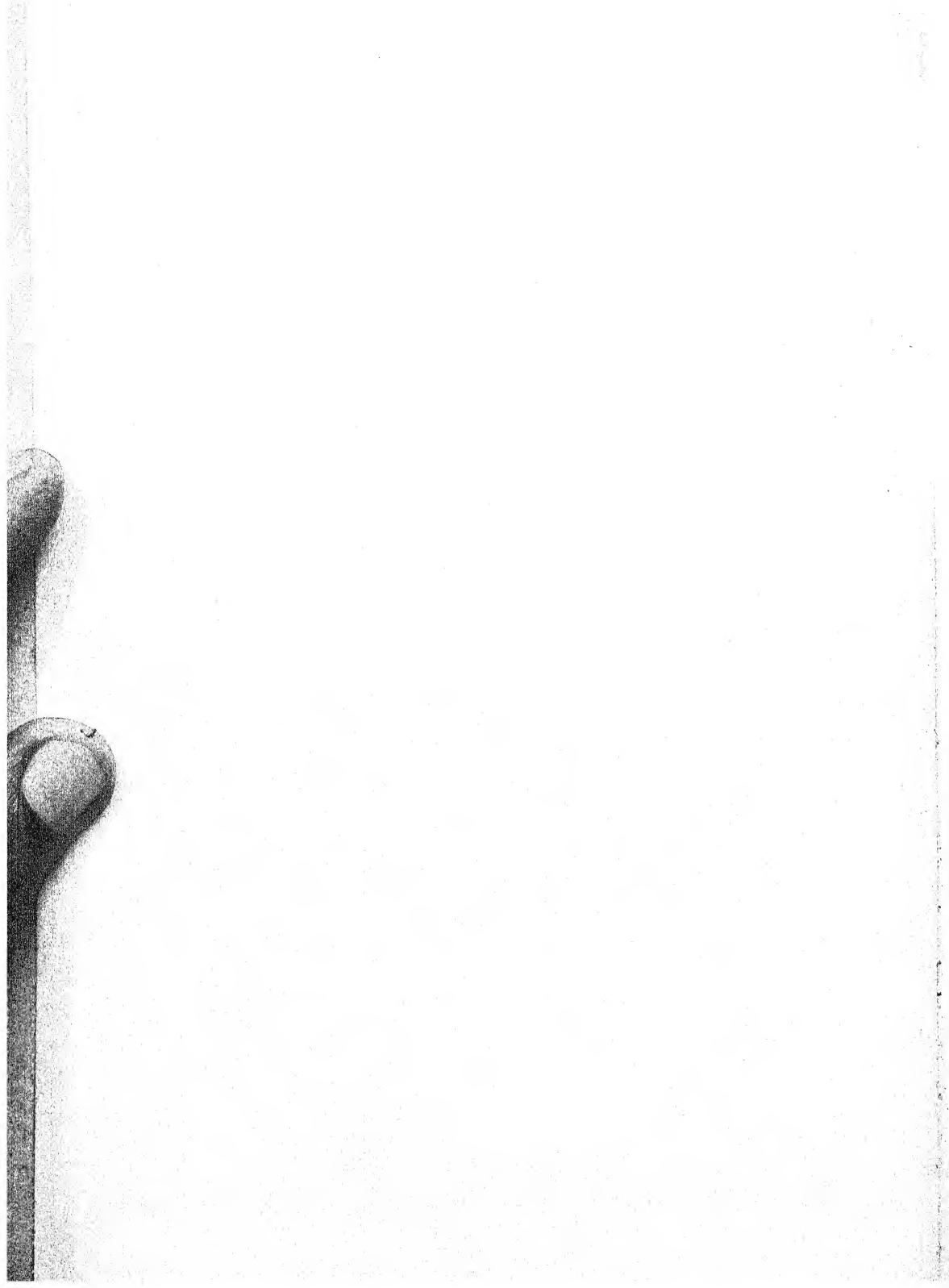
The attitude of the masses is reflected in the many referendums which have been held during the past eight years and in the news columns of the newspapers. The newspapers, in their editorial policies, reflect the attitude of the public on the question of National Prohibition. Resolutions of disapproval have been adopted by organizations all over the country. National and State labour unions have expressed their dissatisfaction; National and State medical associations have condemned it; bar associations, State Legislatures and city councils have adopted resolutions deplored the present situation. All this reflects the attitude of the masses.

In 1922 the *Literary Digest* poll brought out a total of 905,004 votes, of which 550,364 were for modification or repeal and 354,740 for enforcement. Four years later, in the Spring of 1926, more than 400 newspapers in every State of the Union conducted a most comprehensive poll. The result was overwhelming—more than five votes for repeal or modification to every one for a continuance of the Volstead regime. The actual results were: For prohibition, 687,376: against prohibition, 3,705,092. In November 1926, eight States, New York, Illinois, Missouri, Wisconsin, Montana, Colorado, Nevada and California, comprising 25 per cent of the population and representing a cross-section of the country voted on some phase of the Wet and Dry question. Many of the questions submitted were not suited to bring out the entire votes, yet more than 6,660,000 votes were cast, of which 60 per cent were recorded as Wet. In addition to newspaper polls and referendum elections, there have been many surveys of the results of National Prohibition made by organizations, by newspapers and other periodicals and by individuals. These surveys invariably indicate that con-



AT A LADY'S SPEAK EASY

"Fair ladies may show you the way to a real good booze."



AN EXPERIMENT IN ANARCHY.

ditions under National Prohibition are unsatisfactory. In view of these expressions of public opinion can there be any doubt as to the attitude of the masses?

Apart from the general attitude of disagreement with prohibition enforcement there is general defiance and disrespect of the law :—

*" New York and the large towns swarm with speak-easies. Speak-easies are a remarkable feature of the new American life. Every time you go for a drink there is an adventure. I suppose it adds to one's pleasure to change into a pirate or a dark character entering a smuggler's cave. You go to a locked and chained door. Eyes are considering you through peep-holes in the wooden walls. There is such a to-do about letting you in. Someone for the first time must be sponsor. You sign your name in a book and receive a mysterious-looking card with only a number on it. The bar-tender says to you suggestively as you sign your name, ' and you will please remember your address.' And you are admitted to a back-parlour bar with a long row of stooping and loquacious drinkers. There may be only three bottles in use, the main supply being hidden away in some place less liable to raids. There may be a red signal light which can be operated from the door in case of revenue officers or police demanding entrance, and on the red light signal the contents of the three bottles are incontinently emptied into the street below."**

There are speak-easies for the ladies and speak-easies for the men. As usual spy-holes, moving shutters, padlocks, chains, bars, a password, rose-coloured walls, a bust of Dante on the mantelpiece, views of Florence and Rome and the Leaning Tower of Pisa, thin-legged uncomfortable straight-backed chairs and work tables :—†

" The clientele at the bar was mostly of women. Women brought their women friends. Women brought their men friends. Tony accepted men's money, but he had, I believe, a preference for that of the women. It is sometimes an act of gallantry now-a-days to take women's

**New York Nights*, (Supra) page 57.

†*Ibid.*

money, and in this respect he was gallant. Somnolent ladies in charming gowns nodded their heads bibulously at neighbouring tables. This was a lady's speak-easy."*

The women are as fond of the booze as the men. Fair ladies may show you the way to real good booze:—

"Let me take you to a place where I can give you better Benedictine than you will find in France. Are you free to-night about eleven-thirty? Very well. That's fine. Come to Tony's and you shall judge for yourself. You will? Well, be punctual. Last time I promised to meet a man there at eleven-thirty and he did not come till after midnight and I did not want to drink any more. But I saw on the list of drinks that Tony was serving absinthe frappe that night. It gave me a thrill. You cannot get absinthe even in France, but we with prohibition had it. I felt unreasonably proud of Uncle Sam. So I had an absinthe frappe and then I had another. Still my friend did not come; so I went on drinking. At last, looking to the doorway, I saw him enter. I had had five absinthe frappes!"

"I felt strange and uplifted. I felt like the Mother of God, I felt more cosmic than I have ever felt before."†

The following was observed at Texas Guinans, the most exclusive night club in New York:—

"Many guests seem to bring bottles with them and I am afraid these take away from sartorial grace. Even the smallest flask rather disfigures a Tuxedo. It seems appalling for rich and elegant males to dance with bottles in their pockets. Ladies, of course, have to risk leaving their bottles on the tables, but it was sad to see one of the most beautiful women, exquisitely dressed, yet pressing a big bottle of whisky to her bosom under her shawl of Parisian silk."‡

Down Bowery way there are no peep-holes, no shutters. The Prohibition Law is openly set at nought.§ The condition of the inhabitants of the Bowery is a dreadful commentary on

**New York Nights*, page 52.

†*Ibid*, page 103.

‡*Ibid*, page 77.

§*Ibid*, page 161.

bootlegging.* The police take little or no notice of the infringement of the Eighteenth Amendment in the poorer quarters—probably for the very sound reason that the trouble does not pay :—

"There is something curious about the free surge of alcohol on the East side. I go into a saloon there and I ask for a drink and I get it. How is it that in other parts of New York I have to take such precautions and go through a sort of ritual? I go to places where the doors and walls are perforated, and uneasy eyeballs flicker through the wood, peering at my face and form. I have to place an extended palm on a glass door or give a certain sort of tattoo with my knuckles. At that resort where I met Laura, when asked who I am, I must answer that I am Mrs. Worsfold, whoever she may be. I say I am Mrs. Worsfold and straightway I am admitted. I cannot get in as Stephen Graham. At some places I present a mysteriously scrawled card. At others I have to be known by my face. But in the Bowery at any of a score of saloons I just go in and get served."†

Wherever you go in the United States, whether to police headquarters, to a fashionable evening party, a night club, to friends or even to acquaintances, one of the marks of hospitality is to whisper the addresses of cosy speak-easies. You scribble these addresses in your notebook with the password, a most important item.

The general defiance and disrespect for the laws was amply proved in the recent investigation of Dr. Charles G. Norris into the deaths from bootleg liquor in New York. Dr. Norris found that there is no "actual Prohibition" and that "all people who drank before Prohibition are drinking now, provided they are still alive" :—

"Instead of licensed saloons, open to inspection, official and public, there are speak-easies which greatly outnumber the licensed saloons of former days. The situation is difficult of control by Federal, State or municipal authority. The speak-easies are the ulcers or the bedsores, so to speak, of our community life. The liquors sold have no

**New York Nights*, page 161.

†*Ibid.*

*municipal control as to their purity. When the speak-easies are closed, they spring up like mushrooms in the same field again..... Because of the poor poisonous quality of the liquor consumed, steps must be taken as promptly as possible to remedy this public health menace. The morality from this cause, in my opinion is larger than the vehicular accidents and the illuminating-gas poisoning cases combined.****

These conclusions are supported by evidence from other quarters. Thus the beneficent influence of Prohibition in Lower Delaware, as revealed in a despatch from the town of Wyoming to the *Wilmington News* :—

“ Since the enactment of Federal and State Prohibition laws.....not only boys of high school age, but girls and other younger children, frequently are seen under the influence of the prohibited liquor.”

Effects of the Volstead Act in San Francisco, as reported by the *Examiner* of that city :—

“ Scores of young girls and youths were found stupefied by liquor in San Mateo country roadhouses by Federal Prohibition agents yesterday. Some of the girls were only 14 or 15, the agents said, while in many cases their male companions were years older. Helpless under the influence of liquor, the girls were unable to resist the attentions of the men.”

Effects of Prohibition in Kansas, as reported to the *Philadelphia Public Ledger* by the Hon. Jay E. House :—

“ As in New York, Pennsylvania and New Jersey, the state of Prohibition in Kansas is whatever you want to believe about it. If one desires to believe that the prohibitory laws are enforced, he can easily find thousands of excellent citizens who will agree with him. If, on the other hand, he desires to believe that Prohibition is not enforced, he can easily purchase the evidence necessary to sustain his view. He will not, however, if he lives in Kansas, publically express such a view. He will confine his remarks to the circle of tried and true friends with whom he engages in wassail and song. In Kansas it is not considered good form to say the prohibitory laws are not enforced. Very few have the courage to defy the conven-

**Literary Digest*, February 26, 1927.

AN EXPERIMENT IN ANARCHY.

tion. What is done openly and without apology in New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania is done behind the barn or in the friendly obscurity of drawn blinds in Kansas. They're not afraid of the awful liquor they drink there—if they do drink it—but they're afraid to talk about it. In Kansas if you say drinking is going on you get into trouble. The result is that those who know about it—and a good many do—keep it to themselves."

More testimony on the same topic from the Hon. E. W. Howe :—

"Near where I live in Kansas, a certain remote country is inhabited mainly by people who are always screaming about the bad habits of the towns and cities..... The other day the sheriff of the country made a night raid, and in three towns rounded up twelve distillers of bootleg whisky. All the distillers were farmers. Another boot-legger captured in the same vicinity operated the largest illicit distillery ever found in the United States. The big distiller was a farmer, and for years had been indignant at town people because of their bad habits."

As to the rural areas :—

"Talk about liquor drinking in the city! You ought to see it in the country! In the old days when a town man was a drunkard they sent him out into the pure, open space to reform, but now it's the farmer's sons that are getting to be drunkards and they send him to town to straighten up. You go out to the country sales around Atchison and you see so much bootleg liquor drinking it's disgraceful. I know fellows in Atchison who have as much as two barrels of bootleg in their cellars."

The deaths from alcohol, declares Dr. Norris, are "not due to Prohibition, but to open rebellion against the law."* Commenting upon Dr. Norris's report, the conclusion of the *Hatford Courant* was :—

"To intemperance have been added graft, corruption and a nation wide hypocrisy."

As to the quantity of liquor manufactured and drunk in the United States the evidence is of three kinds. Whatever be

*Vide *Literary Digest*, February 26th, 1927.

the value of the statistics available there is no doubt or difference of opinion upon three points: first that there are more stills and distilleries in the United States now than prior to the passing of the Eighteenth Amendment, and the millions of gallons of bootleg liquor are consumed in the United States, and that national prohibition is as far away, if not farther, than ever before.

These facts are substantiated by qualified investigations. The licensed saloon has disappeared because no licenses are granted, but the sale of intoxicating liquors by the unlicensed and unsupervised saloon, the bootlegger, the speak-easy and the 'blind pig' are as widespread as ever. For instance, in the pre-prohibition years there were about 400 distilleries in the United States, but in seven years since 1920 the Treasury Department has reported the seizure of 79,437 distilleries and 93,821 stills. General Andrews, former Prohibition Commissioner, has estimated that not more than one-tenth of the bootlegging distilleries and stills are seized. At the same time the bootlegger has taken the place of the bar-keeper, who had at least one virtue, in that he remained stationary, and did not go out looking for customers and tempting those with strength enough to keep away from the bar. But the ubiquitous and conscienceless bootlegger infests the office, the home and the school.*

As to the precise quantity of liquor drunk in the Prohibition Era, there is a difference of opinion but between the millions alleged on the one side and the millions admitted on the other side does the truth undoubtedly lie. District Attorney Buckner's estimate was that 60,000,000 gallons of industrial alcohol were diverted into the bootleg trade in 1925. Dr. J. M. Doran of the Prohibition unit computed that only 13 or 14 million gallons reached the bootleggers. Even at 13 or 14 million gallons the comment on prohibition enforcement is adequate. To this figure must be added the nine million gallons released for presumably legitimate uses. Mr. Stayton's figure for still produce is 170 million gallons and for beer in 1926, 600,000,000 gallons.

Mr. Buckner, Federal District Attorney in New York State, reported to a Congressional Committee, that practically all the whisky sold in his territory was constituted as follows:—

One quart of watered whisky.

One gallon of raw alcohol.

Three quarts of water.

This concoction costs three dollars, and is sold according to the locality from five to ten dollars a quart.

*“Let us sample the drink. The colourless variety might well begin by its appearance; the coloured looked like recognisable whisky. But what is this stuff? It is not vodka. It is not fuming mountain liquor, which is often potent enough in all conscience, served in ram’s horns, brown, or aromatic, brain-suffusing. The first taste is not unpleasant. The first thought is that it is a real drink—the second thought, instinctive and coming up from the stomach and the vitals, is that it is poison. The body sends its alarm signal to the brain. After two glasses you feel poisoned for two days; the nerves of the nose still register from it. The effect is not loquacity, not sociability, but sheer blur. There is little interesting conversation in these places where this moonshine is sold. It kills and yet it creates a craving.”**

If America is drinking less, it is not due to any respect or effect of the Eighteenth Amendment. We have already noted the general contempt and the reasons thereof. The decrease in liquor consumed since Prohibition is explained by New Age:

“The drinker of strong drink has two choices. He can drink what he gets from the bootleggers, which is a product of denatured alcohol or raw “moonshine,” and accept his chance of escaping the hospital, or he can quit drinking. In the past few years thousands have given serious thought to the matter and have decided, reluctantly perhaps, to go on the water wagon.”

But if the view is correct that people are drinking less because of the policy of the Government to denature all alcohol why do deaths from alcohol show no diminution in number, and

**New York Nights*, (Supra) page 170.

why is there a positive increase?

The following figures in New York in recent years are, in this connection, interesting:—

			Alcoholism patients in Civil Hospitals.	Deaths from Alcoholism.
1918	...	...	3,741	252
1919	...	...	3,540	176
1920	...	...	3,325	98
1921	...	...	3,862	119
1922	...	...	6,800	274
1923	...	...	9,342	429
1924	...	...	10,398	513
1925	...	...	10,361	682
1926	...	...	.....	750

It is worthy of note that it is not the open rebellion and defiance by the people of their national laws and the authority of the law enforcing agency that is blamed for this marked increase in alcoholic fatality but the policy of the Government in adding poisonous denaturants to moderate alcohol. The Dry point of view, of course, supports the Government policy:—

“The Government has warned its citizens that there is poison in most bootleg alcohol. If the citizen goes ahead and drinks it he is in the same position as a man who walks in the drugstore and buys a bottle of carbolic acid, carrying a poison label, and drinks it.

“When the Government proceeds on the theory that its laws will be disobeyed, it cannot stand. It will decay within a year.”

The Wet viewpoint illustrates the divergence and heat that public opinion may gather, and the type of language that is used on such occasions, a type unknown to our old-fashioned British parliamentarianism.

Judge F. X. Mancuso of New York City Sessions:—

“Every death caused by poisoned alcohol is deliberate and premeditated murder on the part of officials.”

Senator James A. Reed of Missouri:—

“Only one possessing the instincts of a wild beast would desire to kill or make blind the man who takes a



CHILDREN OF SHAME.

More than 225,000 children are born out of wedlock in the United States every year.



A PERIPATETIC SALOON.

"The Prohibition Movement and the 18th Amendment have been widely described as the greatest social experiment of all time. From results, however, the experiment appears less in the nature of an experiment in social reform than an experiment in anarchy."

AN EXPERIMENT IN ANARCHY.

drink of liquor, even though he purchased it violating the Prohibition statutes."

Representative Cellar:—

" Wholesale Murder."

Rev. Dr. S. Ed. Young of Brooklyn:—

" It is more like 17th Century Russia than 20th Century America, the proposal to put our erring fellow-citizens to death in the same way as you would get rid of rats."

Drunkenness can be measured in some degree by the number of arrests for drunkenness. The Moderation League of New York has compiled from the records of the Police Department in 534 cities statistics to show that the number of arrests for intoxication in these cities has increased from 281,651 in 1920 to 664,104 in 1926. We also find that the death rate from alcoholism (not poisoned alcohol), has been on the increase ever since national prohibition came into effect. The Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, for example, reports that the death rate from alcoholism among its industrial policy-holders in the United States in 1927, was nine times as high as it was among its industrial policy-holders in Canada, where the seven largest provinces have introduced prohibition in one form or another and have adopted systems of Government regulation and control.

When the Federal prohibition of intoxicating beverages was inaugurated, arrests for drunkenness had already fallen to 50 per cent of the number reported in the same cities during 1914. In 1920, the first year of National Prohibition, arrests fell to 44 per cent of the 1914 numbers. The Federal Division for enforcement of the law proclaimed the country in the South and West virtually 100 per cent Dry and a larger part of the East in an equally satisfactory condition. Gradually, as various sources of liquor supply increased, the total of arrests for drunkenness in recording cities has risen to the level of the pre-war era.

Says Stayton:—

" Evidence of the increased drinking among the younger people is at hand on all sides. We are told by Judges of juvenile courts that never in the history of our country has the number of intoxicated children brought into

courts been so great. Within the past few months a group of prominent "Dry Georgia" jurists, after an investigation of the "alarming growth of juvenile crimes within the State," said: 'Most crimes of violence heard before our courts were committed by young persons under 25 years of age, and in most cases, the perpetrators were under the influence of bootleg liquor.' Arrests for intoxication have been increasing steadily since 1920, according to police records, in most of the cities of the country, while arrests of minors for this cause have grown to an alarming degree. In the city of Washington the police records indicate that the arrests for drunkenness of persons under 22 years of age have increased more than 200 per cent since 1919. If the conditions existing to-day are permitted to continue, we may well fear that the hard liquor drinking habit will soon have a powerful grip on our younger generation.'*

When the Eighteenth Amendment was adopted and the Volstead Act was passed, most people who believed in prohibition thought that the question was settled. They were mistaken. The Eighteenth Amendment made it more difficult for the officers of the law to enforce prohibition than ever before. There was a good reason for this. The Volstead Act sent up the price of liquor and put ten men into the business of liquor-selling where there was one before. It made bootlegging so profitable that a class of men who would never have become liquor-sellers under the conditions which previously prevailed, entered the business.†

The state of Prohibition, according to the Hon. Jay E. House, quoted earlier in the chapter, is whatever one wants to believe about it. The evidence that prohibition is not enforced may be easily purchased, and if one wants to believe that prohibition laws are enforced, thousands of Americans will be found to agree. We have quoted some evidence in support of the proposition that prohibition is not enforced. The following news from Norfolk (Virginia) is evidence of how the law is enforced in the great American Democracy:—

**Vide Current History*, April 1928.

†*Americana* 1925, (Supra) page 102.

AN EXPERIMENT IN ANARCHY.

"Just as the jury in the case of Julia Rose, a Negress, charged with selling liquor, was filing out to the jury room in the Federal Court, there was a dull thud, and lying in the wake of the jury on the soft carpet was a half-pint of liquor.

"S. C. Burgess, a Prohibition agent won over a half dozen other attaches and officials in a dive for the bottle.

"'Where did this come from?' Judge Grover demanded.

"Burgess explained he found it on the floor.

"'Did one of the jurors drop it?' the court asked.

"'Nobody knew. Before anything further happened, the jury reported back with a verdict of guilty and the incident was closed.'"^{*}

The effects of prohibition have been comprehensively summarised as follows:—

"In contrast with the optimism of the old Prohibitionists, who believed that America would become a sober nation, we find that after eight years of National Prohibition we must record the following results besides those already mentioned: Tremendous loss of revenue to the Government, investment of the control of the liquor traffic in rum rings and their allies; general violation of the prohibition laws in every station of society, in official and unofficial life; stimulated and growing disrespect for all law; jails and penitentiaries filled to overflowing and many thousands awaiting trial; no known decrease in the volume of hard liquor available (see General Andrew's statement before Appropriation Committee, November 18th, 1926); general increase in appropriations for attempted enforcement which must be reflected in the tax burdens of the people; crime and corruption among employees of the prohibition unit, resulting in the dismissal of approximately 25 per cent of them; searches and seizures and raiding of private houses, assault, abuse and even murder in utter disregard of all laws; the development of an intolerant spirit which has inevitably provoked a corresponding reaction against our laws and institutions; a constant depreciation of farm values

*Americana 1925, page 257.

since 1920, to which the prohibition policies of the Government have been a contributing factor; loss of prestige and spiritual influence of the evangelical churches. The masses have expressed their disapproval of National Prohibition in no uncertain terms. The evil fruits of attempted enforcement have made enemies of many men and women who at first supported the law because it is the law. They have had to yield to an overpowering weight of evidence. They see increasing drunkenness, increasing deaths, increasing violations of the prohibition laws. They see old crimes undiminished and the prohibition laws a fertile source of new crimes. And they see the unpalatable efforts of a corrupt enforcement service engaged in spying, informing, violence and unlawful search and seizure. It is this opinion of the masses that will cause the defeat of this social experiment with which we have been living for eight years, for, after all, no law affecting the habits and customs of 120,000,000 of people can survive without the overwhelming support of the masses."*

The Prohibition movement and the Eighteenth Amendment have been widely described as the greatest social experiment of all time. From results, however, the experiment appears less in the nature of an experiment in social reform than an experiment in anarchy. Perhaps history cannot indicate a law for which there has been such open national contempt and which has so utterly and conspicuously failed to achieve the objects hoped for than the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. Every country can count many enactments passed with determination but which remain dead letters upon the statute book. It is doubtful, however, whether there is another instance to rival the open and corrupt defiance, the hopeless national confusion, the antithesis of desired effects as Prohibition in the United States. The evidence of "Wet" and "Dry" issues is but a minor phase of the general social and civic anarchy that has followed the introduction of Prohibition Laws.

**Current History*, April 1928.



"Let not your right hand know — etc."

"Glasgow Herald."

CHAPTER XVI.

WAR THE OUTLAW.

Following the Franco-American treaty signed at Washington on the sixth day of February 1928, Mr. Kellogg issued his invitation to the nations of the world to join in a multilateral pact for the outlawing of war. Once again the United States assumed the role of the Great Apostle of Peace. Under the blaze of gigantic spotlights, the whirr of movie cameras, the presence of Secretary Kellogg of the United States, the acting Premier of England, the ambassadors of a hundred nations, in the great gilded hall of the Quai D'Orsay was signed on 27th August 1928 the Magna Charta of world liberty from war despotism. The scene was flashed round the globe, and the old

World went down on its knees and thanked Father Coolidge, who in his infinite love for mankind sent his only Secretary Kellogg all the way across the Atlantic with this message of peace and salvation. Around saviour Kellogg gathered the apostles of the new cult. Christ was content with Peace and Good Will among men, saviour Kellogg's message was of wider scope—Peace and Good Will among the nations. Having delivered the message and instructed his apostles, the foreign secretaries of Tokyo, Quai D'Orsay and Downing Street, amid the sorrows of the old World, he went back to the one greater than he, the one who sent him, to Father Coolidge.

The simile between Coolidge and God the Father may sound irreligious, but as quoted in an earlier chapter, God in America does take quite a secondary place to the President of the United States.

This is by the way, but to return to the new Message of Peace and Good Will among nations conceived at the White House and delivered in Paris, is it blasphemous to add that the unbelievers far outnumber the believers?

The outlawry of war is not a new idea. Ever since the Middle Ages attempts have been made to outlaw this bandit and common enemy. But these attempts have been to no purpose. War is not outlawed by treaty or by legislation, but by a change of heart, the growth of tolerance and the scrapping of the instruments by which war is waged.

We all know that the nations of Europe are not going to outlaw War, because Secretary Kellogg assumes the role of the Peace Apostle. The old feuds of the Rhine, the friction in the Balkans, the growth of Soviet power, the commercial aggression of German Commerce, are problems that are more fundamental and complicated than can be settled by pious promise. We all know the old World is thoroughly bad, so far as its militarism, its imperialism, and its hypocrisy go; we all know that the Cabinets of France, England, Japan, Russia are not composed of pacifists; we know that in the administra-

tion and policies of these Governments precept differs from practice. But what of the United States?

We do know that Woodrow Wilson came to Europe to mix peace with reason and victory with mercy; we do know that Warren G. Harding called disarmament conferences and that Calvin Coolidge asked Secretary Kellogg to persuade stupid crazy Europe to abandon War as the instrument of international arbitration, to outlaw it, as he called it. But we also know that President Wilson did not temper justice with reason, we know that inspite of the disarmament conferences there is a mad rivalry among the naval departments of Washington and London; we know that while Secretary Kellogg was outlawing war in Paris, United States' bullets were whistling in Nicaragua, and with feverish haste the army chiefs of signatory nations were overhauling the giant engines of modern warfare.

Europe is bad, thoroughly bad, incorrigible in its folly. Europe is imperialistic, Europe is old-fashioned, Europe has mighty little use for the League of Nations and Hague arbitrations. Europe has always settled its quarrels by might. Survival of the fittest has been the watchword with European statesmen from Richelieu to Bethman Holweg. Europe still conscientiously believes in 15 inchers as the most effective instruments of peace and progress. Bad old Europe!

But what of Uncle Sam, the great moral giant of history, the Elijah of Peace and the pater noster of Democracy? What example has he set to his neighbours? Have they the opinion of him that he would like the nations of Europe have of him? History, I am afraid, has a somewhat different story to tell.

The rise of Imperial America is well explained by Charles and Mary Beard:—

“With the growing economic surplus from years of fine harvest and successful exploitation of industry ran an increasing pressure for foreign markets and investments. With the age of exuberant culture and a gilded prosperity came the aspirations and the opportunities of an Imperial America. And once America was fairly out upon the imperial course, all the interests and ambitions usually

associated with that form of human activity, centering in the Captain's Quarters in the upper sphere of politics, conspired in a cumulative fashion to hold the ship of state steadily in the chosen way. McKinley, Roosevelt, Taft, Wilson, Harding and Coolidge occupied the presidency in succession, according to the chronology and accidents of politics, without making any sensational changes in the sailing charts throughout the years of their service."*

McKinley was a creature of the bosses. The return to power of the business interests in 1897 under the leadership of McKinley confirmed the new tone of American foreign policy. For some months previously the affairs with Spain in Cuba and the Mexican Gulf had gone from bad to worse. There were American citizens, whose lives had of course to be protected. Incidentally it may be mentioned, that there was fifty million of invested capital and an annual trade of a hundred millions also to be protected. President McKinley was inspired by the best of motives. In his message of December 1927, he declared that "forcible annexation.....cannot be thought of, by our code.....it would be criminal aggression." The Republican party proclaimed the impending conflict a war for liberty, the Hearst Newspapers appeared in headlines of lurid carmine and called for a war of righteousness. Between good journalism, appealing humanity and economic interests the United States on the 19th April 1898 was gloriously at war with the most decrepit and demoralised nation of Europe. The war did not last long. The United States forces carried their objective triumphantly by storm. Madrid, defeated and helpless, soon begged for peace and protocols were signed on April the 12th, 1898. President McKinley's memory was happily convenient. "The war is over, we must keep what we want," he said and he did. Cuba became "independent" under the supervision of the United States, and the Philipine Islands were to be held under American authority pending final settlements. The Phillipines are still held, but in trust for the natives!

**Rise of American Civilization*, Macmillan Co., New York,
page 480.

The intellectual and moral methods of the growing giant were explained by President McKinley in an address to his Methodist brethren: "I walked the floor of the White House night after night," he said, "and I am not ashamed to tell you gentlemen, that I went down on my knees and prayed Almighty God for light and guidance more than one night. And one night late it came to me this way—I do not know how it was, but it came..... There was nothing left for us to do but to take them all and to educate the Filipinos, and uplift and civilize and Christian them, and by God's grace to do the best we could by them as our fellowmen for whom Christ also died, and then I went to bed and went to sleep and slept soundly."

The opportunity to educate, uplift and Christian the Filipinos in accordance with the divine directions soon followed. When the news of the change of masters reached Manilla, the Filipinos under the leadership of Aguinaldo showed a certain restlessness. During the war with Spain, Aguinaldo helped the United States forces against Spain on the promise that the Island would receive its independence at the close of the war.

Aguinaldo found that the war had meant only a change in masters. In February 1899 war broke out between the forces of the United States and Aguinaldo. The circumstances under which the war started are obscure, but the cause generally known is that four native soldiers passing the American line were shot dead. Aguinaldo immediately made efforts to breach the gulf and begged for a truce, but the American military authorities on the spot absolutely refused to parley and widened the incident into a general conflict.

It took the United States three years, hundreds of men and one hundred and seventy-five million dollars to put down the insurrection. During the conflict President McKinley's Christian battallions apparently forgot the etiquette of civilized warfare and employed methods that roused Mark Twain to write a savage article on the civilizing and Christening of natives by the use of the rifle and what the Americans called, the "water cure." A Senator from South Carolina explained: "Repub-

lican leaders no longer dare to call into question the justice or the necessity of uniting Negro suffrage in the South,—your slogans of the past—brotherhood of man and fatherhood of God have gone glimmering down through the ages," and Senator Hoare of Massachusetts openly declared in the Senate that if he were a Filipino he would be fighting as they were fighting.

It is impracticable to set out here in any detail the history of the United States administration in the Phillipines, but the ideals and methods of Government have not conspicuously differed from those actually employed by other imperialistic administrations. General Leonard Wood, sent out by President Harding to govern the Filipinos reported that the withdrawal of American power would leave millions of helpless wards to the tender mercies of local satraps. Europe can hardly afford to smile at these tender sentiments. British statesmen use precisely the same language towards the aspirations of millions of intelligent races in the British Empire who are seeking self-determination and constitutional government. But as I have said before, Europe is an old sinner.

The measure of sincerity in the attitude of the United States towards Phillipine aspirations is not difficult to estimate. The hypocrisy is not different from the hypocrisy of old world imperialism.

In the illuminating language of a telegraphic dispatch sent from Baguio, the summer capital of the American administration, in September 1926, to reinforce the coming report of Carrim Thompson, a member of the Harding-Daugherty group of Ohio statesmen sent by President Coolidge to collect information, we have an indication of the truth regarding the Phillipines :

"If we withdraw from these fertile tropical islands, strategically located at the Orient's gateway, we would have to relinquish our position as an Asiatic power. Without the Phillipines as a commercial and military base, it is said, we could not enforce the open door policy of equal trade opportunities for all nations in China, could not use the limitless economic opportunities sure to accompany the awakening of the East, and could not wage war effectively."

to protect our interests. The argument advanced to support this contention is that the Phillipines strategically are the only place available to the United States as a base. The Phillipines are a part of a group of islands from Japan on the north to Borneo on the south, which form a screen across the Pacific to the coast of Asia, constituting the door to the future possibilities of the Far East. As long as America holds this strategic position, it is argued, she will remain a powerful factor in the Orient's economic and international life."

It may be asked whether colonial expansion and administration are authorised under the American Constitution. It is doubtful whether the authors of the Constitution conceived of Porto Rico or Cuba or Manilla. A Phillipine editor who went to some length in questioning the beneficent intentions of the American administration, was told by the Supreme Court that under the First Amendment of the Federal Constitution no such specious pleas could be made. Whatever limitations there may have been in the minds of the conscientious were set at rest by the Supreme Court, which in a series of decisions known as the "Insular cases," discovered that the Constitution in no way restricted the right of territorial expansion and colonial aggression. The popular query, "Does the Constitution follow the flag," was answered by Mr. Dooley, "The Supreme Court follows the election returns."

The colonial expansion of the United States has become famous through Senator Knox, as "Dollar Diplomacy." The series of events were accompanied by no expressions of ill will on the part of the American Government. On the contrary, Roosevelt, Taft, Wilson, Harding and Coolidge have been all agreed that the purposes of the United States have been open and generous. President Wilson declared: "We must prove ourselves their friend and champions upon terms of equality and honour..... We must show ourselves friends by comprehending their interests whether it squares with our interests or not."

The case of Haiti offers an illuminating comment of ways and methods of the "Champion of Honour."

In 1803, Haiti threw off the yoke of France and became a Republic. The course of democracy did not run smooth and there were revolutions and assassinations, counter-revolutions and retaliatory atrocities. While domestic investments were yielding 10 to 15 per cent Wall Street and the bosses were too busy to look into the affairs at Haiti. At the end of the Nineteenth Century, however, when the pecuniary equipment of the United States had been well rounded out, there arose a marked solicitude about the welfare of this small republic. The opportunity to extend the friendship in terms of equality and honour was forthcoming in 1902. The Haitian Government floated a loan in New York at about 12 per cent and invested considerable sums in ammunition which American ammunition-makers supplied at two or three times the usual price. American marines removed the gold reserve from the local Haitian National Bank and transferred the treasure to an American man of war and thence to New York. The Government of Haiti was left clamouring for the return of the funds. The friendly intentions of the State Department in Washington took more practical shape in 1919, when the world was busy with other things. It sent Admiral Caperton in the good ship *Washington* to Haitian waters. Admiral Caperton seized the seats of Government, instituted martial law and induced the National Assembly to elect General Dartiguenave, a man acceptable to United States interests as President. A treaty of "amity and friendship" was soon signed and ratified in 1916 by the United States Senate.

Between 1916 and 1921, the American troops felt impelled to kill more than 2,000 Haitians. The victims were "bandits." Law and order was maintained and those who ventured to disagree were speedily shown that it was not worth while. An American missionary who protested against the murders of the natives was thrown into a dungeon. An American real estate prospector who lodged charges against marines was murdered:

"If all the Haitians shot and murdered deserved their fate, it was none the less evident that many who survived the process of pacification were not entirely pleased with the new regime. In any case, when attempts were made to develop the agricultural resources of the interior in con-

formity to the provisions of the amity treaty, it was found necessary to use force in holding natives at the task of road-building. Moreover, local orators and editors, according to American reports, conducted such an 'agitation against the United States officials who are aiding and supporting the constitutional government of Haiti' that vigilance dictated the suppression of newspapers and public meetings and the institution of trial by court martial....

"In connection with the land question, local discontent was particularly marked. By the old constitution of Haiti land ownership was restricted to natives, thus handi-



capping by a legal barrier American business leaders, impatient to get at the work of developing the agricultural resources, as stipulated in the treaty of amity. With a view to removing this obstacle to 'the advance,' a new constitution omitting the objectionable clause, was framed by skilled craftsmen in Washington and submitted to the Haitian assembly for approval. At this point the wrath of disgruntled natives who resented the alien invasion as

bitterly as Californians resented the intrusion of the Japanese, broke all bounds, giving the assembly such a fright that it did not dare to agree to the constitution proffered by Washington. Defeated in its desire to proceed with respect for the forms of law, the American administrators now dissolved the legislature, instructed the marines to drive out recalcitrant members by force, and decreed that the revised constitution, authorising alien corporations to hold land in Haiti, should be submitted to a popular referendum under American military supervision."*

While Haitian liberty was being 'championed' and democracy established in the Phillipines, the Government at Washington and their advisors, the oil, farming and banking corporations, were actuated by the highest motives. These motives and these alone inspired the despatch of a warship in 1911 to Nicaragua, the stationing of warships in Dominican waters in 1905, the purchase of the Virgin Islands in 1917 from Denmark, the visit of American marines to Honduras in 1924, the assistance of the navy to stabilise Guatemala in 1921, and the construction and administration of the Panama highway. The marines whose ability in the extension of democracy and establishment of peace in the Caribbean had been previously well proved, were again in Nicaragua in 1921 and for the most part of 1928, were engaged in the excellent business of supervising of Nicaraguan elections :

"The marines are in Nicaragua under an agreement with the leaders of both parties in that distracted country to supervise an election in a laudable effort to restore constitutional government and civil liberty. All that has been accomplished may be jeopardized, if they are too hastily withdrawn."

For the sake of historical accuracy it must be admitted that the Nicaraguan adventure is not supported unanimously. As the Riverside (Cal.) Press puts it :

"Over a million and a half of good American money has been invested in the project so far; and the total will undoubtedly reach \$2,000,000 before the Nicaraguan elec-

**Rise of American Civilisation*, page 509.

tion is held in October. The excuse for this vast investment is supposed to be the protection of American interests. But no evidence has been offered that American interests have been jeopardized. Not a single American civilian has been molested, so far as news dispatches report; and the danger to American investments seems to be hypothetical, rather than actual."

To the Richmond *Times-Despatch*, however:

"This expenditure of money is not the important item of the cost of the expedition into Nicaragua. It is reported by the Navy Department that twenty-one marines have been killed in their clashes with Sandino's men. In war these casualties would amount to nothing; in time of peace they are nothing less than frightful."

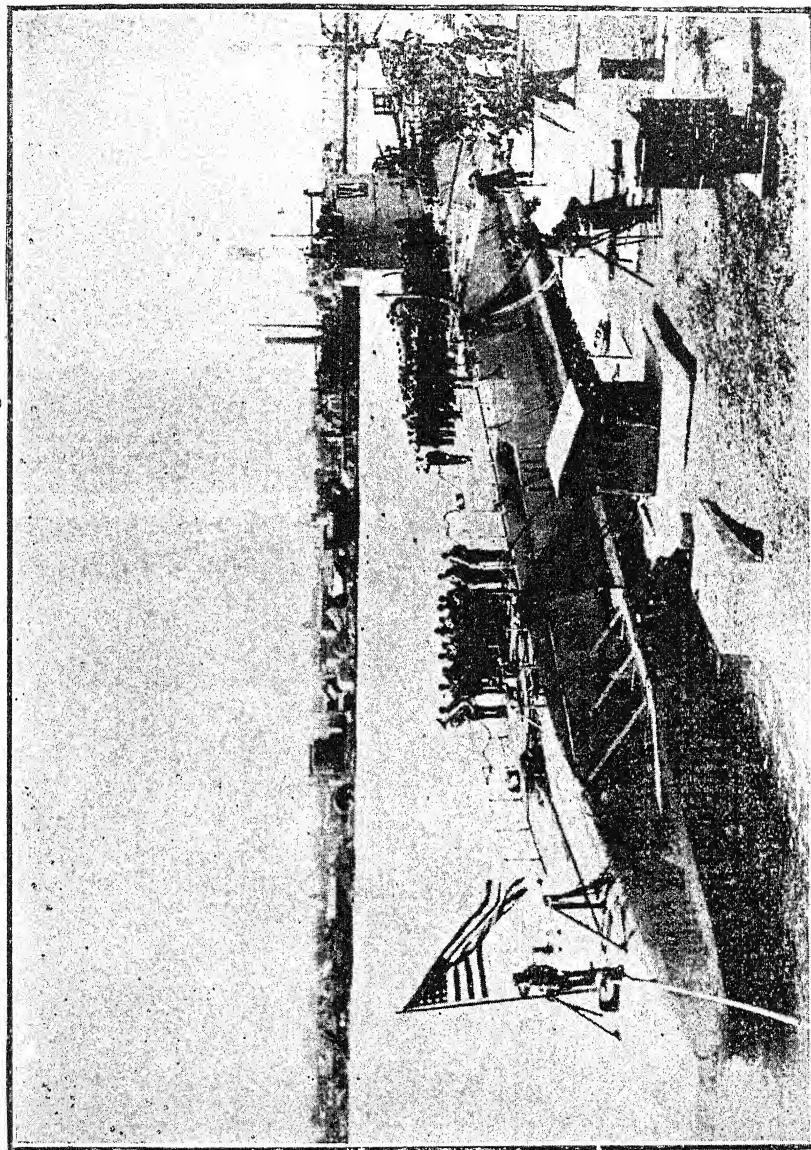
"What has been accomplished, or what is hoped to be accomplished, by reason of this expedition no one knows, save, possibly, Mr. Coolidge, and he has not deigned to take the people of the United States into his confidence. All they know, and all the average Nicaraguan knows, is that there is an unauthorised war in which there has been a great expenditure of money and a staggering loss of life. Perhaps, however it has resulted in great benefit to men of this country who are interested in the banana and mahogany industries.

The presence of the United States in Nicaragua is explained as merely for the supervision of the elections. "The lot of the policeman is not a happy one," writes the *Dallas News*. The *New York Herald Tribune* hailed the decision of the Senate to give President Coolidge a free hand in Nicaragua, as a significant victory for sound principles and commonsense. The events leading up to this victory of sound principles and common sense as reported in March (1928) *Current History* were:

"NICARAGUA—General Augustino Sandino, recalcitrant leader of the Liberal forces who refused to accept the Stimson electoral plan, fought during the month of January a losing struggle against the American marines and native constabularu. As the month advanced more and more reinforcements were sent from the United States, and, quite as important, more marine bombing planes were dis-

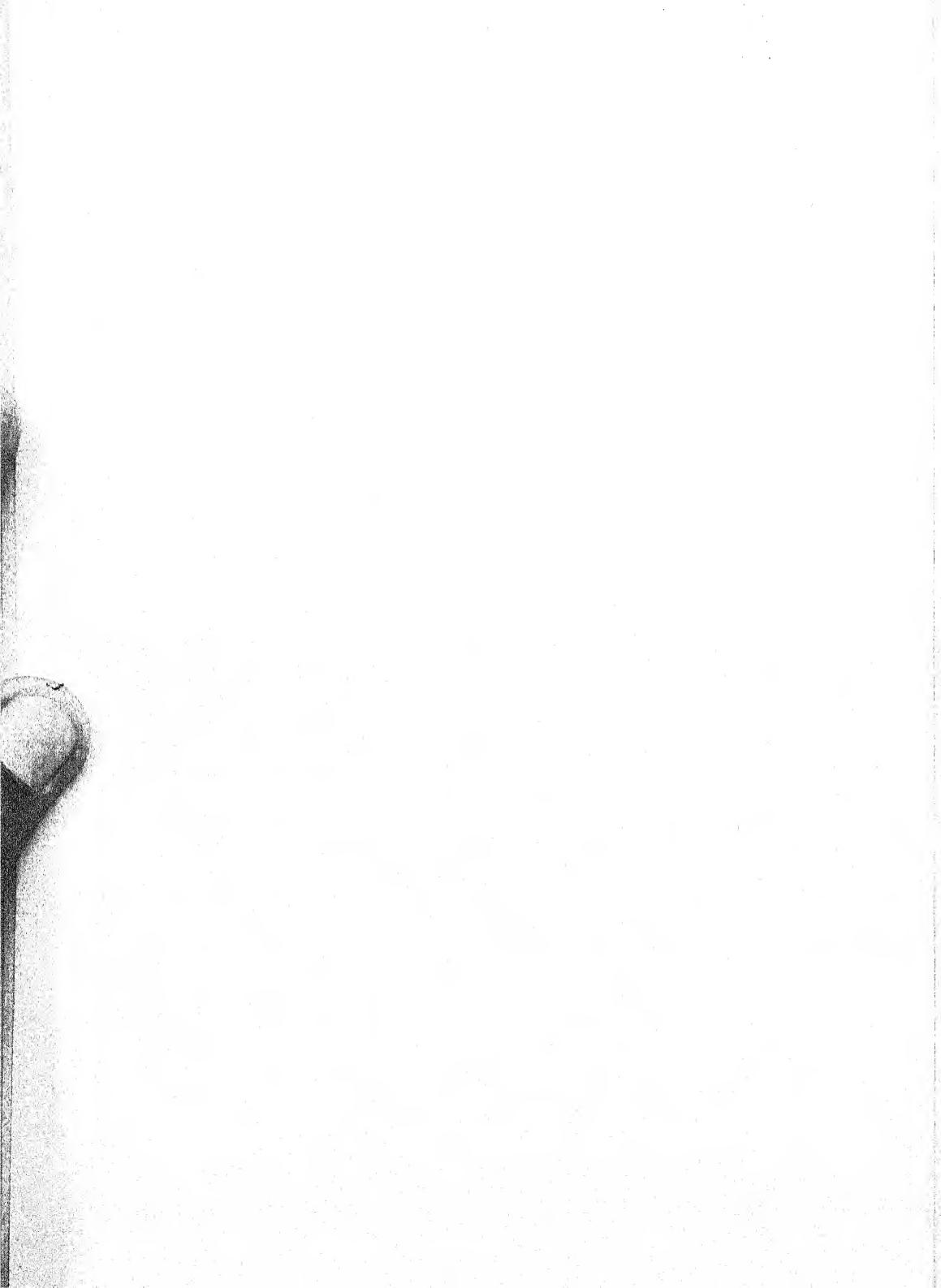
patched to Nicaragua. One of the planes, that of Major L. M. Bourne, made a non-stop flight from Miami, Fla., to Managua on January 14th. On January 9th marine reinforcements numbering 1,200 men embarked for Nicaragua from several American ports, with Major-Gen. John A Lejeune, Commandant of the Marine Corps at their head. General Lejeune, however, did not go to Nicaragua to direct operations, but only to make a two weeks' inspection tour. Brig. Gen. Logan Feland, who arrived at Corinto with General Lejeune on January 15th, superseded Colonel Gulick in command of the marines on January 31st. After the bloody engagement at Quilali on December 30th General Sandino moved his headquarters to the supposedly impregnable mountain stronghold on the 5,000 foot peak El Chipote. For a time he avoided contact with the American forces, but on January 11th, when the rebels attempted to concentrate four miles north of Quilali in the province of Nueva Segovi, they were attacked and dispersed by a marine bombing plane, Colonel Gulick having determined on a policy of bombing the rebels from the plane, rather than have your marine patrols run the chance of being ambushed. On January 14th, forty rebels were killed by an airplane squadron that attacked Chitote, and General Sandino was reported killed in the bombing, this rumour being later discredited. On January 23rd marine reinforcements numbering 1,000 men left Leon for Nueva Segovi and on January 24th, meeting but feeble resistance from scattered bandits, assumed complete control of El Chipote. After the reverse the rebel army vanished utterly for a time, but on February 5th, General Sandino and a force of well armed and mounted men were reported in Jinotega, some fifteen miles north-west of Matagalpa, and were threatening the plantations in that area.

" In conformity with the Stimson agreement President Diaz presented to the Nicaraguan Congress an electoral law which was designed to supersede the existing electoral code and provide for what would amount to American dictatorship over the coming national elections next October. The principal feature was provision for an American President of each electoral board, even in the smallest polling places. The Central Electoral Board also to be headed by an American. General Frank R. McCoy had been appointed by President Coolidge to the latter post. The measure



HOW THE TROUBLE STARTS.

The world's largest submarine—in other words a bird's-eye view of the Kellogg Pact.



was passed by the Senate in its original form, but obstacles were encountered in the Chamber of Deputies. The conservative majority in Congress, who fear the outcome of the elections if they do not supervise them, offered a substitute proposal on January 13th to draw the teeth of the Administration measure, and tie the hands of the American electoral dictator by making him merely a counsellor of the Central Board, claiming that it is unconstitutional to set up a foreign election dictator in the place of the Congress. This bill passed its second reading on January 17th and the Liberal press promptly accused General Chamorro, the former President, of controlling the House. When this article went to press the Chamber of Deputies was still deadlocked on the electoral law and the antagonistic attitude of the Conservatives towards the bill was still unchanged.

"Liberal and Conservative recriminations have recently become most pronounced, and strengthen the case for American intervention. Each party charges the other with assisting Sandino. General Mocada, official head of the Liberal Party in an interview on January 12th, charged that Sandino was being aided by Conservatives, whose object it is to keep the country in turmoil, thus preventing the free elections promised under the Stimson agreement. Stung by this accusation General Chamorro not only denied the charge but offered to assist the Americans in their military operations against the rebels. Demands were made by the Liberal press that General Chamorro be deported as a disturbing element, and the Conservative papers in turn declared that General Mocada should be deported, charging that he was secretly aiding General Sandino. Some observers expressed doubt that it would be possible to hold the elections even if supervised by the United States."

The affairs in Nicaragua look uncommonly like a state of war, but Uncle Sam does not think so. Uncle Sam would have the world believe that he is sacrificing both men and money in a purely philanthropic object. The Nicaraguan enterprise is followed keenly by other nations. Uncle Sam's policy in Nicaragua seems to a section of the Japanese, for instance, more than sufficient justification for the Japanese resolve to prevent civil war in Manchuria, for "the interests

of Japan in Manchuria are incomparably greater than those of the United States in Nicaragua." The Japanese, we are informed, are equally solicitous of the welfare of their proteges and would be glad to be spared the cost of keeping order if the Chinese could be trusted to do it. But, of course, the Chinese are a most incompetent race and need the assistance of the Japanese Government, to look after their railways and mining leases, just as Nicaragua needs United States' supervision to ensure a genuinely democratic election. If Secretary Kellogg allowed Japanese disinterestedness to function without comment, the Japanese would allow Secretary Kellogg to proceed with his elections. Great minds think alike. Compare the following from the *Philadelphia Ledger* and the *Tokyo Niche Niche*:

THE PHILADELPHIA LEDGER.

"We are in Nicaragua because Government there broke down and neither faction was able to function. The lives of Europeans as well as Americans were in danger. If we had not gone there, one or more of the nations of Europe would have sent their military forces in disregard of the Monroe Doctrine. Our international obligations compelled us to act. And we have acted with the consent of both factions and have made an agreement with them to supervise their Presidential election so that there may be a free expression of the preferences of the voters."

THE TOKYO NICHE NICHE.

"Japan has never put forward any claim about safeguarding her special position in Manchuria, and, as Mr. Kellogg may read in the Japanese note, the Imperial Japanese Government is merely anxious to maintain peace and order in the Three Eastern Provinces."

But Secretary Kellogg answered that the United States regarded Manchuria as Chinese territory and could not accept the Japanese view that Japan, because of her extensive commitments, possessed any special rights there. The Japanese press were unanimous in their surprise. The old story of the pot and the kettle went round. Mr. Kellogg was warned that such announcements would "sting the sensibilities of a friendly nation and may tend to have an adverse effect on the peaceful relations between America and Japan."

Thanks mainly to the mountainous climate and general suitability for guerrilla warfare, Mexico is still an independent country. American progress, so successful in the Caribbean, could not be applied to Mexico. The Caribbean countries were, for the most part, tiny republics and operations within their boundaries could be safely entrusted to the navy acting under Presidential orders alone, without the necessity of a war on any proportions where the sanction of Congress would be necessary. Mexican problems are, however, not so simple of solution. In the United States there are strong currents not switched off by Secretary Kellogg's endeavours for the outlawing of war that still look forward to an Americo-Mexican war to settle the disturbed interests of American finance in Mexico.

The Monroe doctrine applied to the Southern Republics, the "open door" in China, are other aspects of "Dollar Diplomacy" upon which much could be conveniently added. Soon after his succession to the White House, President Wilson announced the "new freedom" which constituted the basis of United States policies in Latin America and China. The manifesto like the Fourteen Points was explicit so far as the language went, but Nicaragua, Haiti, Mexico and China found difficulty in grasping the practical implicatons of the proclaimed doctrines of the Washington State Department. Actual results have confirmed the disillusionment.

While the Senate gave Coolidge a free hand in Nicaragua the American proposals to 'Outlaw War' went marching on. Soon after the main endorsements, it was announced that 51 out of 64 nations had expressed their support to the principles of the Pact. But no settlement is yet reported between the naval departments in White Hall and Washington as to the cruiser race. The United States considers parity of naval strength with the British Empire as a matter of sentiment, upon which there can be no possible compromise. The Admiralty in London inspite of the Coolidge and Kellogg proposals to outlaw war, are not prepared to put their practical necessities on a parity with American sentiment. "Will Civilization Crash?" asks the intrepid Commander Kenworthy. It certainly

will if the United States and the British Empire go to war, as they probably will.

The Kellogg Pact succeeded in harmonising the phraseology of the Washington State Department, and the reservations and explanations of the British, French and German Foreign Offices. The Pact has, of course, no reference to the Nicaraguan expedition, it would not apply to the affairs between Egypt and Great Britain, nor France and Morocco, nor Italy and Albania; these matters are expressly excluded. The French Foreign Office was particularly concerned as to the distinction between wars of aggression and wars of defence. Wars of defence, in the interests of international policy, are excluded from the Kellogg Pact. It is difficult to see what controversy could not be construed as a controversy in the defence of a national right or national honour.

Most treaties of peace at the close of a war bring the parties to peace and concord forever thereafter. Not one day has there been since the truce of the last Armageddon, without there being somewhere on the globe a violent attack with modern weapons by one body of men upon another body of men and women, armed or otherwise. Peace can never be reached through "Outlawing War," that process consists in giving to coercive attempts by the evildoer some other name than war:

"While the prevention of war was being bandied about by statesmen, Rogers suggested the drafting of money as well as men. "When the Wall Street Millionaire knows that you are not only going to come into his office and take his Secretary and Clerks but that you come in to take his Dough, says Boy, there would'nt be any war. You will hear the question: "Yes, but how could you do it?"..... No, it will never get anywhere. The rich will say it ain't practical and the poor will never get a chance to find out if it is or not."

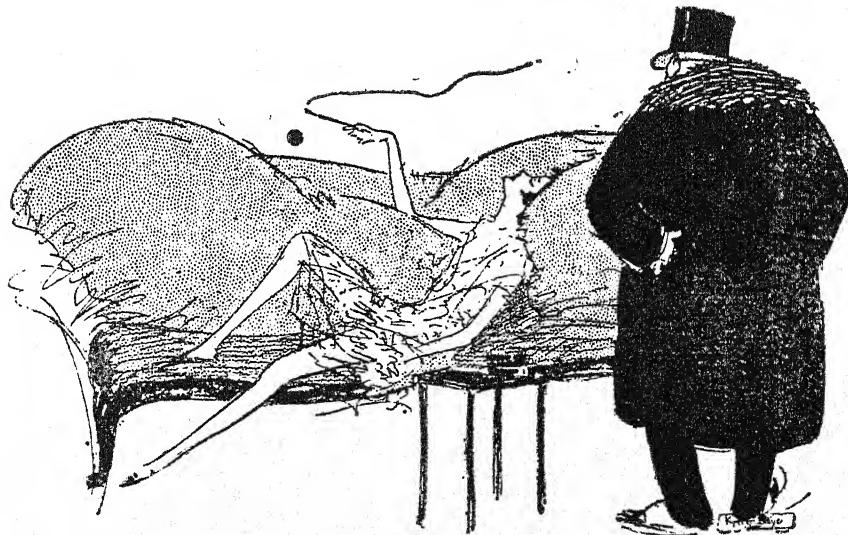
Peace can come by a change of heart and change of method in international and national matters. Unless the old diplomacy goes, the old ideas are scrapped, and life and liberty are counted of greater worth than vested financial interests, until this time comes, war by any name will remain the final and ultimate sanction among the nations.



AMERICA'S HUMOUR.

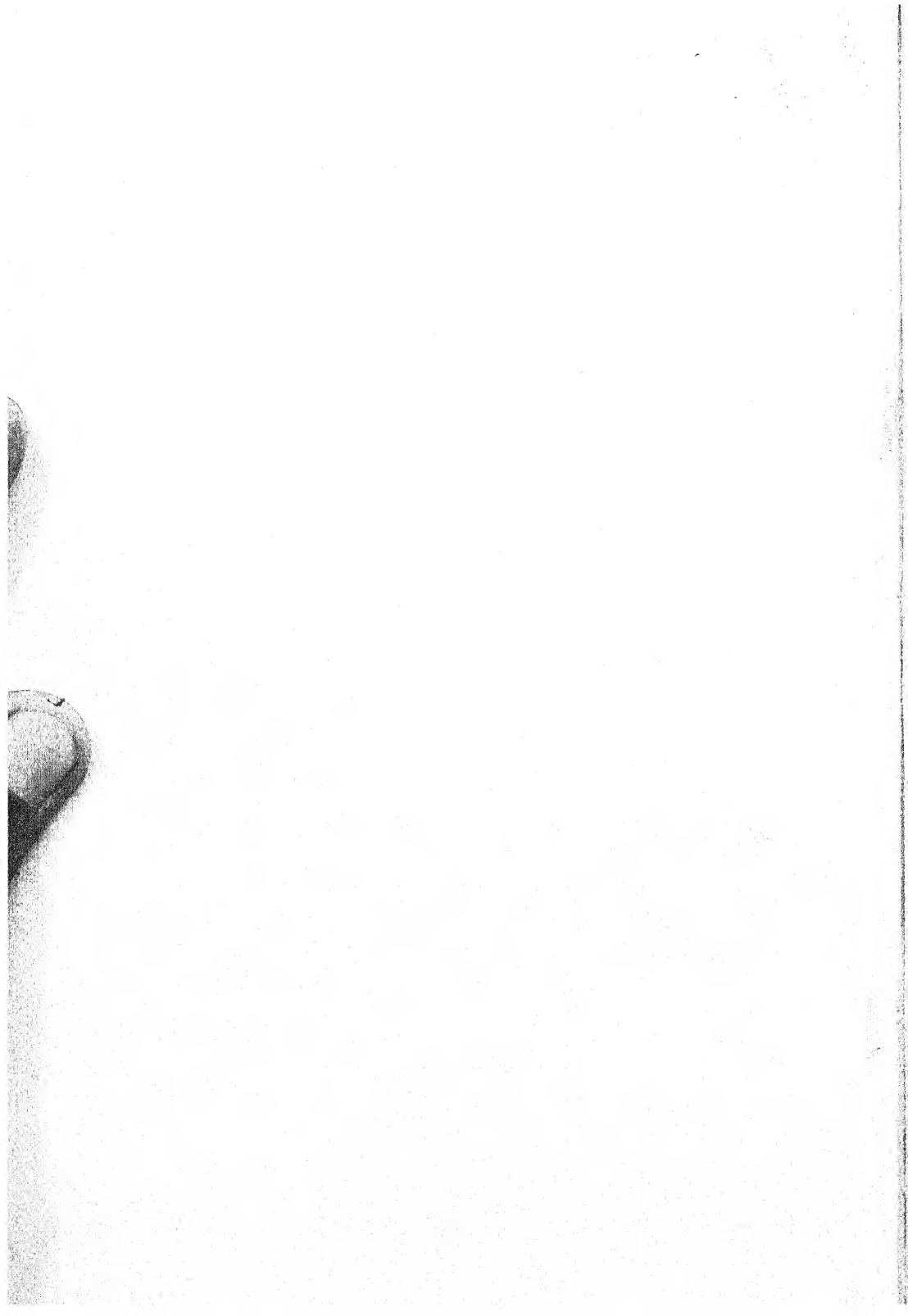
"I could tell he was a gentleman by the way he was dressed."
"Why, Helen! I thought you were a nice girl."

Courtesy "America's Humour."



AMERICA'S HUMOUR.

She: "How old are you?"
He: "Terribly old. My fountain-pen cracked the other day."
Courtesy "America's Humour."





CHAPTER XVII.

UNCLE SHAM.

At the Pan-American Congress held in Havana last year, President Coolidge, as Uncle Sam's Chief Executive Officer, made the following observations, in a speech of singular avuncular emotion :

“ Our most sacred trust has been, and is, the establishment and expansion of the spirit of democracy. But we have put our confidence in the ultimate wisdom of the people. We believe we can rely on their intelligence, their honesty and their character. We are thoroughly committed to the principle that they are better fitted to govern themselves than any one else is to govern them.”

“ Next to our attachment to the principle of self-government has been our attachment to the policy of peace.”

“ It is among the republics of this hemisphere that the principle of human rights has had its broadest application, where political freedom and equality and economic opportunity have made their greatest advance.”

“ All nations here represented stand on an exact footing of equality. The smallest and the weakest speaks here with the same authority as the largest and the most powerful.”

I do not want in the last chapter of this book, the writing of which has not been a very genial task, to discuss at any length, the platitudes published and supplied in Havana, or to detract from the special success of the Chief Executive of the United States. But it is difficult to reconcile President Coolidge's optimism with the facts recited in this volume.

Thus it is difficult, in view of the Rule of the Bosses, the Power of Klan, the influence of the Petroleum and Steel Peerage, to believe that the trust for the establishment and expansion of the spirit of Democracy has been discharged with any degree of sanctity. In view of the events in Nicaragua, the Phillipines, Cuba and Haiti one is entitled to ask whether all nations in the American continent are in reality on an equal footing with the United States? Considering the barbarism of American crowds, the fancy punishments for petty crimes, the graft in the State and Federal Departments, the law of the rich and the suffering of the poor, the discrimination between Black and White, the open defiance of the laws of the land, it is equally difficult to believe President Coolidge that in the United States the principle of human rights has had its broadest application or that here political freedom and equality and economic opportunity have made their greatest advance.

Americanism is a well gilded, well polished, well advertised article. It sells well, its intrinsic value has been analysed in the chapters of this book.

Americans are the master salesmen of the world. Successful salesmen have glib tongues, soft speeches, presentable appearances and attractive mannerisms. They believe in their goods and they inspire belief. The salesman sells you a Ford and while you write your cheque, you verily believe that the Ford is as good as the Rolls Royce; he sells you Banana Hash and you feel the rush of new vitality; he sells you the Kellogg Pact and you feel safe against invasion; he sells you his Americanism in a hundred ways, in faked movie illusions, in tin Lizzies, in breakfast frauds, in disarmament pacts. Perhaps you

are subsequently disappointed with your purchase, because the price you have paid is not a fair representation of the production costs of the article. Perhaps, only five to ten per cent is the production cost, perhaps ten per cent manufacturers' profit, eighty per cent is the charge of the organisation that has induced you to buy a ten cent article for a dollar. Eighty cents is Americanism, ten cents is mint value.

Americanism is salesmanship : Salesmanship is humbug. Humbug, says the dictionary, implies sham, something that is supposed to be something without being that something. Perhaps, after reading this book the reader will instinctively feel that there is something of the sham in the hyper-egotism of the average American, and something of the same in the profession and practice of Uncle Sam's Chief and other executives.

If the facts enumerated in this book are correct, and a fair representation of American life and politics to-day then, if Uncle Sam appears as Uncle Sham, the pun is in order.

In closing, I think, an apology is due to the American who is not a 100 per cent American, who does not claim to have won the War, who has no sympathy with bootlegging or the Nicaraguan adventure, who regards the Washington Conferences in their correct perspective, who perhaps does not go to church but worships his God in his closet, who does not, in the face of oil scandals, the blasphemy of the Church and the hypocrisy of White House, claim anything so portentious as a Giant category. Normal stature is sufficient for his ambitions, a stature which, however, is gigantic in comparison with the moral pygmies discovered in this volume. To this American gentleman, who shows the world how to combine vigour, enthusiasm and initiative with a tolerance of race and status, the writer tenders his regrets.

To the average 100 per cent American my final address would however be: It has been a more painful and unpleasant task analysing the laws of your country, the morals and public utterances of your statesmen, dissecting your institutions and passing judgment upon your boys and

upon your young ladies. In doing so I have not been blind to what is going on in Europe. I have not been blind to the follies of other smart and ultra-smart sets, the programmes of the Follies Bergere or the evils of Cote D'Azur Casinos. But the days when Europe bragged are gone. When you claim you won the War, poor old Europe is too preoccupied to tell you that Foch won it, or the little Welsh Wizard won it, or that Jellicoe starved out Germany or that Mangin turned the tide at the Marne, or that Northcliffe's propaganda ate into the vitals of German moral. England is too worried with the new nations bristling upon her frontiers, Germany is busy regaining her lost trade and divided possessions. Italy is occupied with Mussolini and Albania, France has an empty and disorganized treasury, Russia is keen in the pursuit of Revolution in Manchuria. Some day perhaps somebody will answer the question, "Who did not win the War?"

Of all the Nations the United States is the only one which has the time, the inclination, the means to set the fashion in Charleston, the Black Bottom or the Yale Blues, the new moral codes of easy divorce and easier marriage and to combine the pagan with the holy, blasphemy with the sermon, the Church with materialism, puritanism with prurience, the outlawry of war with a fabulous naval programme and apostleship of democracy with Prussianism in the Phillipines.

Some American pretensions have been analysed and if they have to be discounted it is not the writer's fault. If judgment is passed upon the American Democracy as a civilisation which has run amok and Uncle Sam is convicted as Uncle Sham, both judgment and conviction are almost entirely upon confessions of the accused. This book has been written not of sheer malice or as a mere wanton attack on the United States for purposes of sensation-mongering. Its central object is to tell the truth about the would-be President of the world and outstanding composite head of this materialistic age. If the truth stated in the preceeding chapters can help the United States and other nations following upon the heels of the United

States to weed out the evils running wild in 20th century civilisation, if it can induce Uncle Sam to see himself as others see him, to adapt his practice to his professions, his conduct to his religion, his democracy to the ideals that inspired Washington and for which Lincoln died, this book will have requited the many hours of unpleasant labour and research that have been expended upon it.

* * *

Now that my task has come to an end, totals have to be taken on the debit and credit sides and a balance has to be struck. Most people will say that a reply to propaganda must inherit the qualities good or bad, of its progenitor. As to the immunity of "Uncle Sham" from the besetting sins of the average propagandist publication, namely inaccuracy and one-sidedness, an explanation has been given in the Foreword. But at this stage it is incumbent on the writer to supplement those assurances with a final acknowledgment of the great and worthy side of American life, which the world knows so well, appreciates so truly and ever pays tribute to. It has nowhere been asserted that that good side does not exist. It has been referred to over and over again. It existed before the War. It was overwhelmed and reduced to a negligible quantity after the War. So that the America of these pages is largely that new America which stands condemned.

Further it is not my purpose to argue like one arch-propagandist that because so many have written agreeably of the beauties of Hinduism, one vitriolic attack against the Hindus will not matter much. I repeat at the end of this volume, as I said at the beginning, that America's greatness (as the world judges greatness)—her power, her influence, her scientific achievements will remain unquestioned and unquestionable. It is only a right direction that I hope to see given to these assets, in the years to come, seeing that they have also been perverted to all the evil ends and purposes infused by a tottering world civilisation.

UNCLE SHAM.

It is because what remains of the noble and beautiful is so little and in so great danger of being lost for ever that I have ventured to sound an alarm, without in any way disguising the means which are at hand to combat the evils emphasised—namely, the influences for good themselves, which if they did not exist would leave not only America but also the World at large without hope for all time. To the better side of America—as to the better side of any part of the world, however wicked the rest—my hat off always!

53

THE PROBLEM OF ARMAMENTS.

It is on the seas that the trouble lies. However comfortably it is agreed to talk of the world's navies, it is indisputable that the element of competition gives the question its character. *The claim for parity is a competitive claim.* There can be no equality without measurement and comparison; and even in the categories which are regulated by the Washington Convention there has been a considerable amount of suspicion. Take these authoritative figures as indicating the broad bearing of the problem to note how greatly the supreme naval power in the world before the war has cut down her tonnage.

*Naval Tonnage (000's omitted) before and since the War.**

Japan	...	...	535.8	1913	695.1 (1926)
Great Britain	...	2208.5			1162.2 (1927)
United States	...	833.5			1252.5 (1927)

Another small table illustrates the state of things better. Taking the year 1913 as the standard and calling the naval tonnage then 100, the present state of things may be seen from this :

Comparison of Naval Tonnage before and since the War.

Japan	...	...	100	1913	129 (1926)
Great Britain	...	100			52 (1927)
United States	...	100			150 (1927)

The United States has, in fact, increased her naval tonnage by 50 per cent, Japan has raised hers by 29 per cent, while the former strongest naval power has cut down her tonnage by 47 per cent. No figures can be produced which change this situation.

It will be noted that the figures given do not refer to the current year. In no case is the argument weakened by producing later figures. By taking the statistics of completed years,

*These figures are taken from the *Armament's Year Book* published by the League of Nations, Geneva 1928.

the chance of error is precluded. But to clinch the argument a glance at Mr. Coolidge's December address to Congress may be taken.

The figures for Defence expenditure given in that address were :

1928	...	...	£125,000,000
1929	...	...	£129,700,000
1930	...	...	£133,400,000

These are the largest expenditures in the world upon armaments.*

APPENDIX B

INCIDENTS OF DEMOCRACY.

SUCCESS OF DEMOCRACY.

A striking comment on the success of democracy in the United States was made at the American Association of Manufacturers :

" But when we have proof of constantly recurring murder, arson, destruction, intimidation, assaults, organized conspiracies for crime and nefarious plots equal to the Russian Nihilists; when we witness our boasted constitutional precepts repudiated, human life endangered or crushed; when we see dynamite, nitro-glycerin and the torch demolishing property and shattering lives; cruelties administered by all kinds of ingenious and iniquitous methods; when we see legitimate industry cunningly boycotted, and subtle schemes devised to defeat the sale of manufactured products except under rules of czardom; when, I say, we observe this panorama of innumerable criminal acts, then, I declare, with personal conviction, that it is high time that language commensurate to describe such atrocities be employed to bring to our realization and

*H. C. O'Neill in *Pall Mall Magazine*, April 1929.

APPENDICES.

to our citizenship the frightful conditions that menace our lives, our property and our inheritances."*

POLITICAL PROSE.

Specimen of modern political prose from an Open Letter addressed by one candidate for Congress to another:

" Permit me to ask you a few questions. Is it not true that you once had to flee to prevent being mobbed on account of your extreme cruelty to your good wife? Is it not true that an attorney once gave your wife money to buy food for boarders, while you were lying in a drunken stupor in a notorious bootleg dive or saloon? Is it not true that friends of your wife had to rush her out of the city to prevent your killing her? Is it not true that you have been a sot drunkard all your life?

" You are the embodiment of all that is coarse, vulgar and revolting. You are the type of man who will sit down to a table as a guest and in the presence of your hostess use the most vile and profane language. You are the man who has drawn thousands of dollars from the United States Treasury for time spent in drunken debauchery. You are the man whom politicians would keep in office until you die in order that they may get a few more of the unearned dollars you draw from the Government. You are the man who has earned the sobriquet of "slop jar" in Washington City, where you sit in drunken stupor nine-tenth of your time while your very competent secretary does all your work for which you get the credit."†

IMPEACHMENT.

Impeachment of Governors is not a rare occurrence. In 1923 Governor Walter of Oklahoma was impeached. In 1929 Governor Hunter of the same State was removed. Upon this the *Oklahomon* commented:

" From the beginning we have regretted the turmoil thrust upon our State by the precipitation of another impeachment proceeding. We have regretted the unfavourable advertising our State has received abroad. But unpleasant

*Proceedings 1914, page 193.

†Americana 1925, page 93.

UNCLE SHAM.

as the task may be, the people of Oklahoma may read with profit a record that led remorselessly to confusion in the councils of State.

" Long before Governor Johnston received his primary nomination he was made the candidate of faction. No matter how good and true many of his supporters were, his following included some of the most pernicious and sinister politicians in Oklahoma.

" It was these selfish spirits who induced the Governor to employ every power he possesses to wreck an intelligent system of highway construction. They sought to parcel out among themselves all the offices and contracts of the State. And then when others obtained the confidence they had enjoyed, or the control they had openly claimed, they turned upon the man of their first love with a bitterness and malignity that Oklahoma politics has rarely seen.

" Whatever the citizens of older States may think and say of us, let it not be forgotten that Oklahoma is one State which is not afraid to fight corruption or incompetency in high places. We have not been uniformly successful in getting good men into office, but we bid fair to teach an entire nation how to get bad men and incompetent men out."

ELECTROCUTIONS SERIOUS.

" Warden Evans announced that all electrocutions conducted under his regime would be held strictly according to the law as regards witnesses. ' People get the idea,' he said, ' that electrocutions are social gatherings, but none of this kind will be held while I am warden. An execution is a serious matter and should be considered such ' " *

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.

" After making some remarks about the Klan, McMillion charged that lumber corporations control some of the civil officers. Chief of Police Cochran ' thereupon rushed up to McMillion and struck him over the head with his revolver.' Another official, justice of the Peace J. B.

**Americana* 1925, page 9, from *Arkansas Democrat*.

APPENDICES.

Sutton, attempted to strike McMillion with a rock; while Constable James Belcher jammed a pistol in his face and dragged him to the town jail."*

A CONFESSION.

Speaking soon after his assumption of office President Hoover declared :

" In no part of world are life and property more insecure than in the United States of America."†

APPENDIX C.

VENEREAL DISEASE.

The following warning to virgins is posted in the Y.W.C.A. at Alberquerque (N. Mex.):

" Remember that these diseases can be contracted from kissing or dancing with a man who is diseased. Never forget that at least 25 per cent or one of every four men whom you know are diseased."‡

APPENDIX D.

INTER-RACIAL CONTACT.

At some of the places down Harlem way, Stephen Graham observed :

" There were white men dancing with coloured girls, and Negroes dancing with white women. Not that we Whites were in any way an adornment of the place; we were really interlopers, we did not belong. The Negroes do not depend on our custom, this is their way of amusing themselves. You change into a bit of a Negro when you join the dance; some of the black comes off on you, none of your white comes off on them."§

and

" Some of the whites were very drunk. One young man lay with his lips to the upper part of the breast of a

**Americana* 1925, page 269 from *Arkansas Democrat*.

†*Reuter Message* from New York, dated 23rd April 1929.

‡*Americana* 1925, page 162.

§*New York Nights*, page 224.

UNCLE SHAM.

girl, from two in the morning till about four, when he was escorted to a taxi. He was not passionate, he just lay there peacefully and sweetly as if he had found mother, and the girl bore him there impassively at her breast."**

APPENDIX E.

INCIDENTS OF RELIGION.

"*Helena, Ala.*—After protecting himself against a mob for six hours John King, employed in the mines, was lynched by men whom he had accused of taking money from his pay-envelope.

"*Adamsville, Ala.*—Will McBride, 60 years old, was taken from bed by a mob and beaten to death. He had been arrested on a charge of assault but dismissed by the judge. Some school children had become frightened at seeing him walk along the road."†

APPENDIX F.

CONCERNING JUDGES.

JUDICIAL OBSERVATIONS.

Judicial remarks of Leahy, J., at Alberquerque, delivered from the bench during the hearing of the case of *The State vs. Magee*:

"It remained for you (Magee), a political harlot from the State of Oklahoma, to come here and make these charges against me. I use the term 'political harlot' advisedly

.....

"You published an editorial from another paper headed 'Resign.' The editor of that paper, like you, is

**New York Nights*, page 224.

†*Americana* 1925, page 4.

APPENDICES.

also a political harlot from the same place. I might add, in addition, that he is a fat-headed, semi-imbecile, incapable of earning a living.....

" You (Magee) have shown yourself to be a low down —I was about to say skunk; but there is a difference between you and a skunk. A skunk has a white stripe on his back and there is nothing white about you. You are a mangy yellow cur....."*

The opinion of Lattimore, J., in the case of *Hatten vs. The State*, announced on June 4, 1925, in the Court of Criminal Appeal of Texas, and reported in 263 Southwestern Reporter, 312:

" It is true that the parties are Negroes, but they appear to give testimony in every way worthy of belief."

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.

" Walter Noak was sentenced to life imprisonment yesterday for stealing \$2. Law enforcement in Chicago is that street that you can't get away with anything except murder." —*Chicago Tribune*.

THE ERMINE.

Special cable to the London *Times* from Chicago, dated August 5th, 1928:

" Judge Emanuel Eller of the Superior Court is cited together with his father Morris Eller, tax-collector and self-styled boss of the ' Bloody Twentieth ' Ward and 18 other men all of whom are indicted on a number of charges including murder following charges of bribery and fraud in connection with the notorious April Primary elections in Chicago. The indictment contains 23 counts of general conspiracy, charging the Ellers and their followers with every sort of crime from plotting to murder down to protecting prostitution and gambling in return for political favour; Bail for each defendant has been fixed at £3,000.

* *Americana* 1925, page 161.

UNCLE SHAM.

"Consternation was caused when Eller announced that despite the indictment he would still wear judicial robes as Acting Chief Justice."

APPENDIX G.

MCNEIL HOTEL RULES.

Miami, Arizona.

No man, men or male person or persons, or no lady, ladies or female person or persons shall occupy a room or a bed with another person, without first consulting the management of the hotel and registering on the date of beginning the occupancy of the room.

I will call your attention to Chapter 62, House Bill No. 4, against lewdness, assignation, prostitution or nuisance which was voted on the fifteenth day of November 1918, and the same became a State law.

J. P. McNEIL, Proprietor.

RULES FOR THE MONTE CARLO.

1. Prices, \$3.00, \$5.00, \$10.00 and \$20.00 according to the length of time.
2. Girls must get their money in advance as house is not responsible.
3. Board \$18.50 with Stove \$20.00 per week.
4. Lights must be turned off on leaving room or girls will be charged extra.
5. Girls getting drunk outside must not come in the parlor.
6. Parlor hours Eight to Four. All girls not busy must be in the parlor at proper hours.
7. Girls are allowed one night off each week.
8. Girls must not swear over phone or phone will be cut off.

APPENDICES.

10. No men barred from spending money in this house except girls' sweethearts that board in the house, as men can spend their money with whom they please.
11. Girls must not sit on men's laps in the parlor.
12. Girls must not grab and squabble over one man as that runs men out of the house.
13. Any girl starting argument in the parlor will be sent to her room.
14. Girls must not tell men in the parlor to leave as land-lady will attend to that.
15. Girls must not turn lights out on men in the parlor.

San Antonio, Texas,

January 14th, 1917.

APPENDIX H.

NIGHT LIFE.

HOW TO BECOME A SUCKER.

" To meet the very best people in New York these days you must stay up all night. The dinner hour has moved up to ten o'clock. Nobody thinks of going anywhere before midnight and to miss a dawn sandwich at Reuben's is a real social gaucherie.

" The dazzling and glorified night clubs which have, lily-like, lifted their heads in the Broadway bog have a drawing power that is nothing short of astounding.

" They draw the dilettanti and imperious, languid ladies from the " Gold Coast " fringing Park Avenue. They bring the stage and screen stars who think they are important and who are gazed upon by the simple yokelry who have no idea who they are.

" They have drained the East Side cellars of their gunmen, drug addicts and other human fungi and this malevolent brood now flowers in Tuxedo elegance at ringside tables.

" No one can visit the average night club without branding himself as a sucker. He may think he is having a good time but he is a sucker just the same. And plenty ! He pays from twenty to thirty dollars for a quart of bicarbonated cider wine costing fifty-eight cents and has to serve it himself. This is the merry conceit to give him the idea he is drinking real wine and breaking a law.

" He pays from one to two dollars for a spot of illicit hoch that has left many victims crumpled up in agony a few hours later.

" He pays a cover charge that would buy him a good seat at a first class Broadway show to hear a barrage of heavy jokes from an imitation Balieff. He pays a triple price for a box of cigarettes and gives the girl a quarter. He sits at a cramped table in the atmosphere of stale smoke, sour wine and woolly-witted befuddlement to which a hostess introduces Harry K. Thaw or some other hero of the slippery first page.

" He watches anaemic, scantily dressed and pathetic little girls prance about, ogling some aged and amative decadent. He sees some former movie star like a frail, fever-eyed ghost in a far-off corner dying—dying happily of cocaine.

" He sees those young and beautiful girls sitting opposite those hawk-nosed libidinous vultures at tables that are moist and ringed from the imprint of many glasses. Girls flushed with what they think is the verve and elan of an exciting night life and who will soon be bits of wreckage in the destroying storm !

" He sees hostesses who " feature " current sweethearts at their guest of honour tables. He sees a vice-sodden roue salt his drink with tears as some performer renders throatily Dowson's :—

‘ I have been faithful to thee, Cynara, in my fashion.’

" He sees Rialto mummers long out of work pay their last dollar for a fleeting moment in the blazing lights. He sees eager-eyed collegiates with necks of gin bottles protruding from dinner jackets. He sees vibrant young flappers a bit dishov-

elled and flushed. Irresponsible youth dancing down the primrose path to the piping of jazz flutes!

"If this be entertainment—make the most of it. Yet it has nightly packed some 500 night clubs from the lust-hot cellars of Harlem's Black Belt to the baroque, made-over dwellings of Greenwich Village."

THE DANCE.

"The lights are so few that it is almost dark and yet one sees enough. The dancing square is crowded. The music is a harsh staccato punctuated by vociferous horns. All rythms are blurred. There is no smooth dancing, no gliding, scarcely any forward movement. The dancers hold body to body, they keep on their toes, they sway, they seek contact, they interpret the savage rhythm in sex sensation. Cold partners do not dance there with pleasure. Those who can take pleasure from intimate contact are not content till they have a physical entente and then they let the music do the rest."*

"To dance under the circumstances was an art apart—no room for turns, no scope for striding, big hips bumping you, awkward shoulders nudging you. You kept your arms down and held your partner close to you, keeping time with sides and knees, dancing statically and ecstatically, imparting and taking rythm from the breast, from the back, from the thighs, from the middle, ululating forward, ululating back, one's emotions roused by strumming, then torn by trumpets."†

"At the more fashionable Night Club, you will find cornflowers, carnations, roses. Jewels profuse. Women handcuffed to wealth with bracelets, haltered with pearls. The men much more interesting than the women. Clever heads abounding. The men stockbrokers, lawyers, financial operators, sharpers, but all splendidly successful ones, winners at the dollar-collecting game. The women creatures of leisure and pleasure go there to spend what the men earn. There are no hard-faced professional women, no women with hunted faces, but plenty of the pampered and the pretty. The men handle them with an air of proprietorship, handle them so much more than they would dare to do in English society, feeling their fat arms as

**New York Nights*, page 213.

†*Ibid.* page 223.

they passed their chairs. Indulgent demoiselles come and sit on daddy's knee and fondle his neck. There is plenty of liquor. Waiters with champagne-buckets trundle around. It seems out of keeping with the wealth of the assembly to see a party united around a large straw-covered bottle of Chianti.....ah, but real Chianti! There are lots of bottles among the legs of the guests endangering almost priceless gowns, and not a few upsets, though nobody seems to care. The dancing is very boisterous. 'Harlem translated into diamonds.' These *femmes de luxe* think only how lovely they look and how satisfying or unsatisfying their partners are."*

APPENDIX I.

SOME CASE HISTORIES.

In order to visualize the human element that is involved in the problem of the sexes, the following case histories, taken more or less, at random, from authoritative sources previously cited in the text, are presented for the reader's consideration. These cases could be multiplied a thousandfold and then only inadequately portray the daily toll that America is paying for its disordered sexual life.

CASE I—

"My mother died when I was a babe. After her death I was sent out among strangers. While away from home and before I was six years old, a young fellow about fifteen years old possessed me and threatened to do something terrible to me if I told. I did not dare tell. Luckily I was taken home at that time, as I now had a step-mother. But still more horrible, it also happened that I had immoral relations with my brother. When I found out that this was the way people get babies, I wished I could get one."†

CASE II—

In the opinion of a woman who had always lived in a small community, all city girls were morally depraved. She had two daughters of her own. Both girls gave

**New York Nights*, page 195.

†*Herself*, page 122.

APPENDICES.

birth to babies at the age of fourteen and sixteen years. It transpired later that these girls first began the evil practice at school. And I will state here, regardless of contradiction, that the village school is often the breeder of immoral characters among both boys and girls.*

CASE III—

In a small farming community of California containing about forty children of school age, it was discovered that immoral practices had been carried on for years among the older children. One little girl, being new to the school and also being in the habit of telling her mother everything, repeated some of the sights she had seen during the recess and noon hours, and also some of the conversation she had heard among the children. The mother, being horrified at the child's revelations and knowing the child must have some foundation for her stories, told a friend about it. This woman told some of her friends who were the mothers of children the little girl had named to her mother. They found to their sorrow that what the little girl had stated was true.†

CASE IV.—Says a girl from Seattle :

“ No one ever told me about this wonderful body of ours and that God made it in his likeness for his glorification. One day I saw a boy and girl about eight years of age doing wrong, and thought nothing of it when my brother, who was fourteen while I was six, proposed that we do likewise. This was kept up until I was somewhere between eleven and thirteen.”‡

CASE V.—Another young girl story is as follows :

“ I have taken that fatal mis-step you write about, but no one knows it besides myself and this man. He dare not speak of this. He is very wealthy and influential. I am a young girl, eighteen years old, and have a lot of men friends because I am considered attractive. I know, I have done wrong, and now am trying to atone for it by being awfully good. Now, what I want to know and want you to tell me is this, ‘Can I ever marry a

**Herself*, page 123.

†*Ibid.*

‡*Ibid.*, page 126.

decent, respectable man without him knowing of this affair?" **

CASE VI.—Letter from a fifteen year old girl to a seventeen year old boy:

" Paul :

I am sorry to say but I think I am going to have a Y.K.W. It sure is yours. I kept it back as long as I could. You needn't think just because it has been about four weeks to keep it back. Don't think that I have been doing Y.K.W. to some other boy and trying to say that it is yours for I haven't. If I do have a Y.K.W. it belongs to no one but you. My stepmother don't know what to think about it. I won't be mean enough to tell your girl about it. Because it might cause you and her to fall out. I don't want to see you quit. But if I do have a..... I expect to see you do your part, and Anna won't have to know it. I don't care if I do have it because school will be out. Don't think that it belongs to some other boy for there's no other boy here that I would let do that to me. I'm not like some girls that do everything boys ask them to do. Because most of these boys here have some kind of disease. I guess you know what I mean. I would rather have a b..... than the disease. So don't think that it belongs to no other boy but you.

Don't get mad after you read this. It isn't my fault for I did all I could. I won't tell anyone that it belongs to you. It's nobody's business. If you answer this I will know that my stepmother won't have to see your mother. If she don't come herself she will send Miss Hughes to see your mother. You know that would be awful. So you can have your choice about it.

From
ELIZABETH."†

CASE VII—

She had been carefully guarded. She did not dance, she had never seen a motion picture show; she didn't play cards because card playing was sinful. Such

**Herself*, page 127.

†*The Revolt of Modern Youth*, page 46.

was her training and preparation for the actualities of life. One day she met two soldiers. They took her for a ride in their automobile. Thus her father's good old-fashioned methods were put to the test of modern conditions and the test failed.

And when they failed she couldn't tell her parents. She was treated for an infection by a physician whose discretion could be relied on.*

CASE VIII—

A girl, 24 years of age, of gentle birth and high personal character, married a Captain in the U. S. Army. Ten months later she gave birth to a premature child. The placenta indicated syphilitic infection, which was confirmed by a Wasserman. She was placed under anti-syphilitic treatment. Fourteen months afterwards she gave birth to a child which within a week showed signs of congenital syphilis. Snuffles developed, a rash appeared, and about a month later the child died. The autopsy showed involvement of the liver, kidneys and spleen. Treatment of the mother was continued, and she later gave birth to a third child, which showed marked signs of idiocy at its second year.†

CASE IX—

Arabella, motherless, 16 years old, was seduced under promise of marriage by a man who was a friend of her father, and was taken to Philadelphia. She became pregnant and was promptly deserted. The woman in whose home she was staying could not keep her without board, and Arabella sought admission into a hospital. She was told that her pregnancy was not sufficiently far advanced, but that she could return later. She sought work in a candy factory, but upon her condition becoming known she was dismissed. She wrote to her father, but received no reply. Worn out by hunger and worry she aborted and was taken in an ambulance to the hospital. Ten days later she was dismissed and went back to the woman with whom she had been staying. She was told that she could not remain unless she could pay her board

**The Revolt of Modern Youth*, page 38.

†*The Laws of Sex*, page 339.

money. A lodger in the house, who was a taxi-cab driver, took pity on her and promised to meet her bills, and she accepted the man's proposal. Within a day it developed that he regarded her as his mistress. Sick and disheartened she complied. The man then informed her that she was to earn money for them both in his taxi-cab business. Two months later she was arrested as a common prostitute and was sentenced to two months in a penal institution.*

CASE X—

A prostitute, 20 years old, had been brought before a certain magistrate repeatedly. She was at first fined and later was committed to the House of Correction. At her last trial she promised the Judge that she would not come before him again. Some months later, as the Judge was going into the station house, the police wagon drove up and the driver called to him the name of the former prostitute.

‘What—Pearl again?’ asked the magistrate.

‘Yes and no, your honour,’ said the driver. ‘She’s dead, we just got her out of the water.’†

CASE XI—

A medical student, 21 years old, contracted a case of gonorrhœa. He was engaged to be married. His teacher who was at the same time his physician warned him of the danger. After two months’ treatment he eloped with the girl and was secretly married. She soon developed what she was told was ‘appendicitis’ and was operated upon, becoming thereby completely sterilized. She was heartbroken when she learned that she could never have any children.‡

CASE XII—

A young lawyer, 27 years of age, married the daughter of one of the senior members of his law firm. About two years later she gave birth to a son and within a few hours the infant’s eyes showed signs of infection.

*“The Laws of Sex,” page 341.

†*Ibid.*, page 343.

‡*Ibid.*

The nurse called the physician and he immediately put the child under treatment. Microscopic examination showed that the infection was of gonorrhoeal origin. In spite of all efforts the child's eyesight was completely destroyed.

The mother developed puerperal fever and ten days later died.

A history of gonorrhoeal infection in the husband six years before marriage was secured.*

CASE XIII—

A composer permitted his wife to obtain a divorce at her request, eleven years ago, on condition that there would be no alimony. As was agreed upon, he stayed away from the trial, and did not know she demanded alimony. Recently, when he had sunk all he owned in an opera he was about to produce, she sued for eleven years' back alimony—nearly eight thousand dollars. He went to jail and has little hope of getting out. How can he be expected to? A man cannot earn in jail!†

CASE XIV—

A gentleman, a physician from a southern city, married in the north during the World War a woman twenty years younger than himself. His wife sued for separation with alimony—which he paid for years; until heart disease overtook him and he fell behind. The wife showed no mercy. In desperation he went to his home state and obtained a divorce. Here, later, he married a splendid woman who, as he became worse, worked to support them both. It became necessary for them to come north. Here the first wife, who had never ceased having him watched, immediately had him arrested and imprisoned for all those years of back alimony. He is still in jail. His second wife is working, but cannot hope to pay off all that money. The first wife knows what the doctors say of his chances of life. But she insists he can stay in jail, or pay!‡

**The Laws of Sex*, page 348.

†*The Delineator*, September 1928.

‡*Ibid.*

CASE XV—

In a jail in a western state is Mr. X, who, for nearly four years, has been incarcerated for refusing to pay alimony to a former wife who has remarried the first husband from whom she had obtained a divorce prior to marrying Mr. X. And jailed in another western state is a man whose wife sued for separation and was awarded temporary alimony six years ago. Four years ago she begged to return to him. He foolishly took her back, without legally protecting himself. Now she has left him again and has sent him to jail for inability to pay alimony for those four years.*

**Delineator*, September 1928.

Printed at the Times Press, Lahore and Published for the Times Publishing Company, 38 The Mall Lahore, by B. S. Khanna.